JESUIT-KRAUSS-MCCORMICK LIBRARY
3 9967 00023 2905

# A Feminist Companion to Luke

edited by
Amy-Jill Levine
with Marianne Blickenstaff

sheffield

THE
JESUIT-KRAUSS-McCORMICK
LIBRARY

# A Feminist Companion to Luke

Feminist Companion to the New Testament
and Early Christian Writings, 3

# A Feminist Companion to Luke

edited by

**Amy-Jill Levine**

with Marianne Blickenstaff

SHEFFIELD ACADEMIC PRESS
*A Continuum imprint*
LONDON • NEW YORK

BS
2595.52
.F450
2002

Copyright © 2002 Sheffield Academic Press
*A Continuum imprint*

Published by Sheffield Academic Press Ltd
The Tower Building, 11 York Road, London SE1 7NX
370 Lexington Avenue, New York NY 10017-6550

www.SheffieldAcademicPress.com
www.continuumbooks.com

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Typeset by Sheffield Academic Press
Printed on acid-free paper in Great Britain by MPG Books, Bodmin, Cornwall

ISBN 1-84127-324-4 (hardback)
1-84127-174-8 (paperback)

JESUIT - KRAUSS - McCORMICK - LIBRARY
1100 EAST 55th STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60615

CONTENTS

Preface vii
Acknowledgments viii
Abbreviations ix
List of Contributors xii

AMY-JILL LEVINE
Introduction 1

ROBERT J. KARRIS
Women and Discipleship in Luke 23

MARY ROSE D'ANGELO
The ANHP Question in Luke–Acts: Imperial Masculinity and the Deployment of Women in the Early Second Century 44

BRIGITTE KAHL
Reading Luke Against Luke: Non-Uniformity of Text, Hermeneutics of Conspiracy and the 'Scriptural Principle' in Luke 1 70

TURID KARLSEN SEIM
The Virgin Mother: Mary and Ascetic Discipleship in Luke 89

BARBARA E. REID
'Do You See This Woman?' A Liberative Look at Luke 7.36-50 and Strategies for Reading Other Lukan Stories against the Grain 106

TERESA J. HORNSBY
The Woman is a Sinner/The Sinner is a Woman 121

BEN WITHERINGTON III
On the Road with Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Susanna, and Other Disciples—Luke 8.1-3 133

ESTHER A. DE BOER
The Lukan Mary Magdalene and the Other Women Following Jesus 140

VERONICA KOPERSKI
Women and Discipleship in Luke 10.38-42 and Acts 6.1-7: the Literary Context of Luke-Acts 161

LOVEDAY C. ALEXANDER
Sisters in Adversity: Retelling Martha's Story 197

WARREN CARTER
Getting Martha Out of the Kitchen: Luke 10.38-42 Again 214

PAMELA THIMMES
The Language of Community: A Cautionary Tale (Luke 10.38-42) 232

CAROL SCHERSTEN LAHURD
Re-viewing Luke 15 with Arab Christian Women 246

MARIA-LUISA RIGATO
'"Remember"... Then They Remembered': Luke 24.6-8 269

Bibliography 281
Index of References 300
Index of Authors 311

## Preface

*A Feminist Companion to Luke* is the third volume in a new series with excellent precedent. These volumes on the texts and history of Christian origins adopt the model established by Athalya Brenner, editor of the enormously successful Feminist Companion to the Bible series. This sister series to FCB marks an important new dimension in Sheffield Academic Press's list of titles in the areas of feminist hermeneutics and theology, and its contents underline the extent to which feminist critique is established as a core discipline of biblical, historical and theological research.

The new series, like FCB, contains contributions by new as well as established scholars; it presents both previously published work (primarily from sources either out of print or difficult to find) and new essays. In some cases, scholars have been invited to re-visit their earlier work to examine the extent to which their arguments and approaches have changed; in others, they have sought to apply their earlier insights to new texts.

We wish to thank Marianne Blickenstaff for her numerous organizational contributions as well as her discerning insights, and Kathy Williams for help with proofreading. We also wish to thank the Carpenter Program in Religion, Gender, and Sexuality at Vanderbilt Divinity School for financial and technical support.

This series seeks international representation; to this end, gratitude is due, as well, to Vanderbilt Divinity School, which has provided funding for translating into English both previously published work and new articles.

It is our hope that this series will quickly establish itself as a standard work of references for scholars, students and others interested in the New Testament and Christian origins.

Amy-Jill Levine, Vanderbilt Divinity School
Philip R. Davies, Sheffield Academic Press

## Acknowledgments

The editors and publisher are grateful to the following for permission to reproduce copyright material: Edwin Mellen Press for 'Sisters in Adversity: Retelling Martha's Story' by Loveday C. Alexander, from George J. Brooke (ed.), *Women in the Biblical Tradition*; The Catholic Biblical Association of America for 'Getting Martha Out of the Kitchen: Luke 10.38-42' by Warren Carter, from *CBQ* 58 and for 'Women and Discipleship in Luke' by Robert J. Karris, from *CBQ* 56; Paulist Press for '"Remember"... Then They Remembered: Luke 24.6-8' by Maria-Luisa Rigato, from Gerard O'Collins and Gilberto Marconi (eds.), *Luke and Acts*; and *Zeitschrift für neutestamentlische Wissenschaft* for 'On the Road with Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Susanna, and Other Disciples—Luke 8.1-3' by Ben Witherington III, from *ZNW* 70.

## Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AB | Anchor Bible |
| ABD | David Noel Freedman (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York: Doubleday, 1992). |
| AGJU | Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums |
| AGsJU | Arbeiten zur Geschichte des späteren Judentums und des Urchristentums |
| AnBib | Analecta biblica |
| AnGr | Analecta Gregoriana (Rome: Università Gregoriana) |
| ASNU | Acta seminarii neotestamentici upsaliensis |
| BAGD | Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, F. William Gingrich, and Frederick W. Danker, *A Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2nd edn, 1958) |
| BBB | Bonner biblische Beiträge |
| BDF | Friedrich Blass, A. Debrunner and Robert W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961) |
| BETL | Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensum |
| BPEC | Bibliotheca Patrum Ecclesiae Catholicae qui ante Orientis et Occidentis Schisma Floruerunt |
| BHT | Beiträge zur historischen Theologie |
| *Bib* | *Biblica* |
| *BibRes* | *Biblical Research* |
| BJS | Brown Judaic Studies |
| *BK* | *Bibel und Kirche* |
| *BR* | *Bible Review* |
| *BT* | *The Bible Translator* |
| *BTB* | *Biblical Theology Bulletin* |
| *CBQ* | *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* |
| *CurTM* | *Currents in Theology and Mission* |
| EBib | Etudes bibliques |
| *EDNT* | *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament* |
| EKKNT | Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament |

| | |
|---|---|
| *ETL* | *Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses* |
| *FFF* | *Foundations and Facets Forum* |
| FFNT | Foundations and Facets: New Testament |
| GNS | Good News Studies |
| *HeyJ* | *Heythrop Journal* |
| HNT | Handbuch zum Neuen Testament |
| HTKNT | Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament |
| *HTR* | *Harvard Theological Review* |
| HTS | Harvard Theological Studies |
| IBC | Interpretation Bible Commentary |
| ICC | International Critical Commentary |
| *Int* | *Interpretation* |
| *JAAR* | *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* |
| *JBL* | *Journal of Biblical Literature* |
| *JFSR* | *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* |
| *JSNT* | *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* |
| JSNTSup | *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, Supplement Series |
| *JSOT* | *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* |
| JSOTSup | *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series |
| LCC | Library of Christian Classics |
| LCL | Loeb Classical Library |
| LD | Lectio divina |
| LSJ | H.G. Liddell, Robert Scott and H. Stuart Jones, *Greek–English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 9th edn, 1968) |
| MT | Masoretic Text (Hebrew Bible) |
| NAB | *New American Bible* |
| NCB | New Century Bible |
| NEB | *New English Bible* |
| NIB | *New International Bible* |
| NIGTC | The New International Greek Testament Commentary |
| NJB | *New Jerusalem Bible* |
| *NJBC* | R.E. Brown, J. Fitzmeyer and R. Murphy (eds.), *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990) |
| *NovT* | *Novum Testamentum* |
| *NA26* | Eberhard Nestle and Kurt Aland, *et al.*, (eds.), *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 26th edn, 1979) |
| NRSV | New Revised Standard Version |
| *NTS* | *New Testament Studies* |
| OBT | Overatures to Biblical Theology |
| RNT | Regensburger Neues Testament |

| | |
|---|---|
| RSV | Revised Standard Version |
| SANT | Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament |
| SBL | Society of Biblical Literature |
| SBLDS | SBL Dissertation Series |
| SBLMS | SBL Monograph Series |
| SBLSP | SBL Seminar Papers |
| *SE* | *Studia Evangelica* |
| SNTSMS | Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series |
| *ST* | *Studia Theologica* |
| Str-B | [Hermann L. Strack and] Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (7 vols.; Munich: Beck, 1922-61) |
| *TCGNT* | B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament: A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament (3rd edn)* (London, New York: United Bible Societies, 1971) |
| *TD* | *Theology Digest* |
| *TDNT* | Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich (eds.), *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley; 10 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-) |
| THKNT | Theologischer Handkommentur zum Neuen Testament |
| TPI | Trinity Press International Commentary Series |
| *TTod* | *Theology Today* |
| TU | Texte und Untersuchungen |
| *UBSGNT* | United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament* (London; New York: United Bible Societies, 3rd edn, 1971) |
| *VT* | *Vetus Testamentum* |
| WBC | Word Biblical Commentary |
| WUNT | Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament |
| *ZNW* | *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* |

## List of Contributors

Loveday C. Alexander, The University of Sheffield, Sheffield, England

Warren Carter, St Paul School of Theology, Kansas City, MO, USA

Mary Rose D'Angelo, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN, USA

Esther de Boer, Theological University of Kampen, Kampen, The Netherlands

Teresa Hornsby, Drury University, Springfield, MO, USA

Brigitte Kahl, Union Theological Seminary, New York, NY, USA

Robert Karris, St Bonaventure University, St Bonaventure, NY, USA

Veronica Koperski, Barry University, Miami Shores, FL, USA

Carol Schersten LaHurd, Wake Forest University, Hickory, NC, USA

Barbara E. Reid, Catholic Theological Union, Chicago, IL, USA

Maria-Luisa Rigato, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Rome, Italy

Turid Karlsen Seim, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway

Pamela Thimmes, University of Dayton, Dayton, OH, USA

Ben Witherington III, Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, KY, USA

# Introduction

Amy-Jill Levine

The Gospel of Luke celebrates women's discipleship, self-determination, and leadership even as it heralds a reversal of systemic inequities. The Magnificat announces the triumph of the poor and the humble, and the Annunciation reveals heaven's dependence on female strength and fidelity; Mary's visit to Elizabeth bespeaks women's solidarity as well as testifies to a gynocentric alternative to the patriarchal systems of Rome and Jerusalem. The woman who anoints Jesus controls her own finances, as do the women who provide for him out of their means. Jesus releases Martha from gender-determined domestic responsibilities and emotional anxiety that accompanies them, and he affirms her sister Mary's choice of intellectual and spiritual development. Women are prominent among those commanded to remember and enjoined to recount the story of Jesus' life and resurrection. Not only does the Gospel of Luke, compared to the other canonical gospels, have the most references to women, scholars have also argued that its author was a woman.

The Gospel of Luke threatens any attempt made by women, the poor, or the disenfranchised to find a voice in either society or church. The narrative consistently depicts women in ancillary capacities: they may serve as patrons, but the direction of ecclesial policies and theologies is restricted to men. The Virgin Mary is no self-actualized breaker of gender roles but rather a reassertion that a woman's value lies only in her procreative ability, and even that is negated by the gospel's preference for celibacy. The anointing woman is so scandalously physical that this 'sinner'—like all women—is less celebrated disciple than dangerous threat. Luke undercuts the authority of the women who support Jesus by describing them as erstwhile demoniacs; they receive no special commission as do the (healthy) male disciples, and they engage in no discussions with Jesus. Martha's διακονία ('service') is dismissed in favor of Mary's better portion: submissiveness, servility, and silence. Luke's gospel is a menacing text that retains and reinforces kyriarchal structures.

Although extreme, each of these statements maintains exegetical advocacy. Some readers have found and will continue to find in the Third Gospel the summons to liberation; others will find numerous barriers to that same goal. As the burgeoning number of articles on Luke's infancy stories and depiction of Martha and Mary evidence, a liberating account for one reader can function in quite the opposite way for another. Interpretations of the gospel necessarily vary depending upon both the methods by which the narrative is analyzed and the presuppositions and experiences readers bring to the text. Therefore, rather than restrict explications of Luke's narrative to the artificial and reified dichotomies of good or bad news concerning gender roles, sexuality, emancipation, or any of the other categories that concern feminist analysis, commentators are increasingly recognizing the multiple messages as well as the partiality—in the dual sense of being both biased and incomplete—of each reading. The stunning proliferation of feminist studies of the Third Gospel within the past quarter-century offers the encouragement of expanded knowledge as well as a strong warning against claims for fully objective and fully comprehensive conclusions.

This interest in presenting diverse interpretations extends to the choice of articles solicited by the Feminist Companion series. Not all of the contributors to this collection identify themselves as 'feminist', and even among those who do, the connotations of the term differ. Although open to various connotations, the term 'feminist' as used in this series is not an indicator of a single economic, ethnic, racial, sexual, or ideological stance; it is intended as an umbrella term encompassing a diversity of perspectives: Asian, Evangelical, Jewish, Latina, Lesbian, Post-Christian, Womanist, and so on. To limit these volumes to essays conforming to a particular party line would be a betrayal of the feminist task of listening to a multitude of views, and it would be a disservice to anyone interested in a variety of perspectives on the salient texts.

The articles in this volume range from explicitly feminist approaches to studies on the role of women in the gospel that, while not 'feminist' as many might define the term, offer materials readers interested in feminist analysis have and should continue to consider. These contributions, from historians and literary critics, from those who write explicitly from their own social location and those whose backgrounds and concerns can only be gleaned if at all from their methods and conclusions, from those who find in Luke's text Jubilee and justice, to those who find gynophobia, reveal both the history of feminist analysis/studies of women in the Third Gospel and offer new issues for the next generation of scholars to pursue. A few of the essays presented here are classical works frequently cited by later studies; other such classics pivotal to feminist understandings of the

gospel are summarized in new articles. Several authors who have published extensively on Luke's narrative have contributed expansions and reconsiderations of their earlier conclusions. The Carpenter Program in Religion, Gender, and Sexuality at Vanderbilt University provided funds for translating articles unavailable in English. Authors comparatively less well known in the academy—recent PhDs and graduate students, scholars whose publications are primarily outside the West or the English-speaking venues—were located through recommendations of others invited to contribute (the first set of invitations included the request for the names of potential contributors); conference proceedings and bibliographic listings provided additional names. Should this broadening of contributors and perspectives create a broadening of the audiences for the series and thus expose more readers to issues of feminist interest, this is all to the good.

Originally, the series editors planned for a single volume on both the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles: the wealth of material on each proved this strategy impossible. A separate collection focused on Luke's second volume, with contributions by such scholars as Musimbi Kanyoro, Kathy Williams, Robert Price, Janice Capel Anderson, James Arlandson, Jacob Jervell, Dennis R. MacDonald, Karen Torjesen, Virginia Burrus, Barbara Reid, and Scott Spencer is currently in production.

Opening this volume on the Gospel of Luke is one of the classical essays: Robert Karris's 1993 presidential address to the Catholic Biblical Association of America, subsequently printed in the *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*. Would that all major addresses to biblical societies could include the line, 'As I read the scholarly literature on what Luke has to say about women...'

Karris's summary of the literature from the 1970s through the early 1990s indicates clearly why the gospel has been such a storm center concerning the question of women's roles. Many of the earlier studies were, as Karris shows, optimistic in their conclusions: their numerous reconstructions of women's lives offered for both Jesus' own social setting and for Luke's Greek-speaking, post-70 context highly sanguine conclusions. The assertion that in 'Judaism' women could not be 'disciples' of 'rabbis' and that therefore Jesus' allowing Mary to sit at his feet is a sign of liberation offers a synopsis of this approach. This view, Karris notes, failed not only seriously to consider women's varied roles in Jewish and pagan settings, it also failed to recognize the roles of women as leaders in the Pauline churches. The next wave of studies did make these recognitions, and consequently the view of Luke's text, although often equally historically positivistic, was much less positive: when the context within which Luke's gospel is set is seen as one in which women hold positions

such as apostle and deacon (so Paul's Epistle to the Romans, for example), the gospel becomes seen as restrictive rather than progressive.

Registering the importance of both literary and historical approaches to developing an understanding of Lk. 8.1-3 and the meaning of women's διακονία, Lk. 22.14-38 and the questions of women's presence at the Last Supper, and Lk. 22.49–24.53 and women's roles as witnesses to Jesus' death and recipients of his Easter commission, Karris offers several means of moving the conversation beyond the dichotomous options. First, he notes that there are (at least) two strata of material that could be prioritized: Luke's redaction and the material Luke received (both of these are themselves constructed by scholars). This is an issue of enduring concern: while some readers seek authority in a reconstruction of what Jesus and those who participated in his mission said or did, others choose to grant precedence to the adaptation of this material by the evangelists, and still others privilege the interpretations of later church tradition or even readings developed as a challenge to the text. Second, he observes that the interpretation of a single pericope becomes modified when that pericope is analyzed in light of the entire gospel; context influences meaning. For example, Jesus' rebuke of Martha, occupied by much serving, can be regarded as a negation of women's ecclesial leadership if seen only in the context of Lk. 10.38-42, but given that Luke elsewhere depicts Jesus' rebuking of hosts and others who share table fellowship, Martha can also be placed as in the same role as Pharisees or even male disciples. This recontextualization may then move the interpretation of the pericope away from a focus on gender and toward a concern for appropriate leadership.

Since the context within which any pericope can be interpreted is open—the passages in immediate juxtaposition, passages depicting similar themes, other stories concerning women, the whole of the gospel, the gospel and Acts, the rest of the New Testament; the time of Jesus, the time of Luke, the past, the present—conclusions drawn from the pericope will necessarily shift. Nevertheless, some studies firmly grounded in historical contextualization retain major influence in the understanding of the Third Gospel. One such study, cited by Karris as having had 'considerable influence', is Mary Rose D'Angelo's 1990 publication in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 'Women in Luke–Acts: A Redactional View'. This article proposes that Luke's editing served to restrict women's public roles in conformity with Hellenistic moral views and so limit their prophetic ministry. D'Angelo's contribution in this volume, 'The ΑΝΗΡ Question in Luke–Acts: Imperial Masculinity and the Deployment of Women in the Early Second Century', extends this earlier work to challenge not only the theories of Karris and others that in the light of

negative feminist critique find a recuperation of Luke's text, but to offer another critical lens by which Luke's corpus can be understood.

'The ANHP Question' begins by asking about the propriety of including an essay on masculinity in a feminist companion to the New Testament. The matter is timely; as the attention to gender substantially prompted by feminist studies expands to reflect upon the construction of masculinity, representations of women threaten in some academic circles to be of interest only for what they indicate about men's position in society. Real women are, in this setting, of little or no interest at all. D'Angelo's response precludes such a post-feminist erasure of women: understanding the performance of either masculinity or femininity and so the position of men and women in text or society requires scrutiny of both categories. Not only does the cultural delineation of women's roles help determine normative masculinity, the construction of the male returns reflection on the position of women. For ancient texts and the society that produced them, descriptions of what is 'masculine' (and therefore normative) provide information about women's textual representations and social possibilities, and these constructions, as positive models or negative foils or a combination of both, would have impacted women. This dual focus is especially acute in Luke's gospel, where more than in Mark and Q references to men and women are paired and where, unlike the other canonical gospels, the narrative persona offers an explicitly male self-reference (the masculine participle παρηκολουθηκότι, 'having followed closely', in 1.3).

In her early work, D'Angelo proposed that Luke–Acts reasserts Augustan family values in an early second-century setting by depicting support for traditional gender arrangements. Building upon this study, D'Angelo indicates how the gospel as well as Acts' precise use of masculine identifiers such as the term ἀνήρ and the narrator's aspect demarcate the public presentation of the kergyma: only men are suitable ambassadors of the new movement. The address to the 'most excellent Theophilus'—be he fictive, composite, or an actual individual—places Luke's readers and hearers into the category of elite males of public repute. Regardless of actual hearers and readers, who surely included women, slaves, and others outside elite status, the narrative's device is that of a discourse for, by, and about elite men, men who possess self-mastery (ἐγκρατεία), men whose status is not and cannot be threatened. Epitomizing this public masculinity is Jesus himself, an ἀνήρ who, as D'Angelo puts it, 'excelled in all the steps toward public manhood in his own nation, but in terms that are comprehensible to an imperial public'.

Within this economy of Roman family values, women have their assigned role. D'Angelo proposes that Luke's interest in asceticism, from

the Virgin Mary to the widow Anna (2.36-38) in the gospel and, in Acts, the virgin daughters of Philip (21.8), comports with Trajan's interest in restoring ancestral mores regarding marriage and sexuality, including carnal restraint. Also in conformity to imperial values, women function for Luke's texts in the role of patron: Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Susanna, and their companions who support Jesus (Lk. 8.1-3), Martha (10.38-42), John Mark's mother (Acts 12), Lydia (Acts 16), and Priscilla (Acts 18). Rather than see these figures as 'real women' or as reflecting the actions of 'real women', D'Angelo concludes that it is more probable, and more important, to see these women as conforming to noble mores: it is their duty to provide benefactions and hospitality.

Like D'Angelo, Brigitte Kahl advances a socio-rhetorical interrogation of the Third Gospel, although her focus extends from the ideal second-century elite reader proposed by D'Angelo to multiple readers from multiple contexts whose encounters with Luke's narrative inevitably produce multiple interpretations. The juxtaposition of the two articles presses the issue of interpretive authority: does it reside in the text, the reader, the community, or a combination? The response might depend upon the focus of the article. Circumventing the frequent impasse that pits 'feminist reading' against 'Luke's gospel', Kahl proposes that the feminist-critical counter-reading is itself inscribed into the patriarchal text; if this is the case, then the authority of the text undergirds rather than undermines feminist critique.

Evoking such disparate phenomena as psychoanalytic dream theory and the mechanisms of survival practised by political dissidents in pre-1989 Eastern Europe, Kahl projects an almost visceral picture of how texts speak with different voices to different readers. She locates a 'hermeneutics of conspiracy' that develops when a text produced under either internal or external censorship reveals a self-contradictory narrative: what the words manifestly say masks coded propositions and hidden agendas. If, as Kahl notes, early gospels were produced in a setting in which particular social codes governed both text and behavior—a setting such as the one proposed by D'Angelo—then the basic tools of the hermeneutics of conspiracy are appropriately applied to them. Since, as Karris demonstrates, Luke–Acts has been and can be interpreted as either positive or as negative toward women, so the hermeneutics of conspiracy provides one lens by which to understand how the two volumes give rise to such divergent perspectives.

To illustrate the function of Luke's 'compromise formation' that consists of both normative and countercultural concerns, Kahl focuses on Lk. 1 and, in particular, the references to time. From Luke's single chapter, she discerns four distinct yet overlapping chronologies: political/historical,

biological/individual; religious/cultic; and messianic. As one fades into the next, alternative eras surface: female time marked by the chronology of pregnancy intrudes upon and interrupts the prevailing, patriarchal times defining politics and history, religion and cult; concurrently, the gynocentric focus offers an alternative to the biological and individual times aligned with paternity and progeny. The irruption created by two pregnant women then leads to the promise of messianic time, when systemic injustice is undone (1.52-53).

In Kahl's rendering, Luke's first chapter moves from the thesis of the patriarchal legacies of empire and priesthood to the antitheses of the home and motherhood and culminates in the new synthesis of the *familia dei*, the family of God wherein no one—mother, father, or child—is placed at the margins. This new structure is encapsulated by the characterization of Zechariah: the priest who originally conforms to cultic and individual/biological time undergoes a gestation of his own as he is silenced within gynocentrically determined time, comes to believe what he had earlier doubted, and affirms his wife's authority to give their son a non-paternal name.

But even Zechariah's regeneration can be read as negative as well as positive. On the one hand, his naming of John and the Benedictus can be heard as the harmonic countertenor to the Magnificat. On the other, the naming and the hymn, placed as they are at the conclusion of the narrative section, could be heard as drowning out women's voices. Each reading finds textual support: the Third Gospel can be seen as accommodating to the time of Caesar or, more benevolently, as engaging in survival techniques that often require compromises of ideal programs. Alternatively, the gynocentric time of Mary and Elizabeth which runs concurrently with the less liberatory chronologies can be seen as interrupting and so subverting the dominant agendas.

For Kahl, semiotic analysis insists upon this liberative counter-reading: in Lk. 1.24-57, the time of the women, she finds the key that determines how the rest of the narrative is to be heard. Luke's text, like a tapped phone conversation in which both parties are aware of that third and less-than-benevolent listener, has in Kahl's deciphering a message of an alternative society.

Most readers of Luke's first chapters, and especially those who focus on Mary's Magnificat, see the gospel's interest in reconfiguring social values. Different, however, are the values addressed: political, economic, familial, and so on, as well as the relation of those values to women's role in church and state. D'Angelo emphasizes a return to family values, Kahl offers a gynocentric alternative signalled by pregnancy and childbirth, and Turid Karlsen Seim's study, informed particularly by Kahl's earlier

work, takes yet a third different approach to Luke's treatment of domestic ideals, Mary, and motherhood. For Seim, Mary's virginity and the gospel's understanding of discipleship are inextricable and, consequently, the definition of motherhood is transferred from biological procreation to ascetic and communitarian relationship. Although the argument that Luke displays an ascetic idealism comports with D'Angelo's evocation of Trajan's renewed interest in Augustan mores, Seim insists that Luke has no program for restoring Roman family values. To the contrary, she judges Luke's presentations of self-control and celibacy to be determined by eschatology: ascetic practice is a rehearsal of the life to come.

Seim discerns Luke's gospel of asceticism in 21.23, the woe over the pregnant and the nursing; 23.27-30, the words to the daughters of Jerusalem; and 11.27, Jesus' response to the woman from the crowd who blessed 'the womb that bore you and the breasts that you sucked'. It is this third example that leads into her re-evaluation of Mary's figuration from biological parent to prototypical disciple. De-emphasis of Mary's physical pregnancy and motherhood is revealed as well in Seim's comparison of the conditions of the two cousins. Although Mary and Elizabeth experience miraculous pregnancies—one mother is a virgin; the other is menopausal—both the circumstances of the women and the expected social repercussions of the pregnancies differ. For Elizabeth, introduced with highly respectable familial connections and religious fidelity (1.5-7), pregnancy removes her reproach and grants her honor. Mary is accorded no such formal introduction, and her pregnancy should have led not to honor but to shame, as the Gospel of Matthew suggests with its notice that Joseph planned to divorce his pregnant betrothed. In Luke's narrative, Mary should have experienced the humiliation from which Elizabeth is released. But the Third Gospel attaches no shame to Mary's circumstances. Her virginal status is not an obstacle to discipleship but a special expression of it. Supporting this conclusion is Seim's observation that, with the exception of Elizabeth (who fulfills the conventional pattern of the 'barren wife'), all female prophets in both the gospel and Acts are either virgins or widows.

This reconceptualization of Mary's presentation facilitates our recognizing her as model disciple. Once her biological pregnancy is de-emphasized, Mary is no longer the impossible paragon of the virgin who bears a child nor the pathetic victim of rape or seduction. Once her discipleship is detached from sexual reproduction, the role of the 'mother' in the community Mary does actualize becomes available to anyone who through ascetic practice bears spiritual fruit.

Whereas both the long-standing traditions of the Church and the newer feminist appropriations of Mary tend to de-emphasize her sexual nature,

the opposite phenomenon occurs in interpretations of Lk. 7.36-70, the account of the woman who anoints Jesus. This unnamed 'woman who was a sinner', who is present at a banquet, in possession of expensive balm, and who lavishes physical attention upon Jesus' body, almost inevitably stimulates commentary on the relationship of sexuality and faith. Almost inevitably as well, the two categories are seen as antithetical. Confronting this popular appropriation, both Barbara Reid and Teresa Hornsby offer analyses that fracture conventions accenting the woman's sin as sexual and her touching Jesus as a further manifestation of aberrant and abhorrent physicality.

Reid extends Jesus' question to Simon, 'Do you see this woman?' (Lk. 7.44) to all readers. Seeking new perspective on this text, she insists upon insights no longer blurred by gender bias or myopic presuppositions, even if what emerges brings pain. Just as Simon is invited to change his initial erroneous perceptions—that the woman is (still) a miscreant and that Jesus is not a prophet—so too readers ever eager to condemn Simon's mistaken Christology might take another look at the woman they insist on continuing to classify as a 'sinner'. As Reid observes, Lk. 7.47 makes it 'utterly clear' that the woman's sins had *already been forgiven* (ἀφέωνται) prior to her encounter with Jesus. Hindering Simon's new vision are his friends, who in the presence of Jesus ask, 'Who is this who even forgives sins?' (7.49). Whether Simon will re-evaluate his opinion of Jesus, let alone of the woman, remains unanswered.

Hampering today's readers from re-evaluating their negative judgments of the woman are other 'friends', traditional interpretations encapsulated by those familiar titles and annotations given the passage. As Reid documents, scholarly articles and biblical editions customarily label the pericope 'The sinful woman' or even 'La mujer pecadora *de Magdala*'. None offers Reid's preferred designation, and Jesus' as well: 'A woman who shows great love'. Worse, as Reid catalogues, are the numerous mistranslations of Lk. 7.47 that make the woman's forgiveness the consequence, rather than the catalyst, of her actions, and of Lk. 7.37 that depict the woman as a present 'sinner' rather than one who *was* a sinner but—as Reid translates the imperfect verb—as one who is a sinner no longer.

Most detrimental of all to new insight is the scholarly and popular insistence that the sins of the woman were sexual or, specifically, that she was a prostitute. Yet as both Reid and Hornsby observe, no one remarks that Peter's self-identification of 'sinner' (Lk. 5.7) indicates activity in the sexual marketplace. For Reid, the argument that the woman's presence at a banquet makes her sexually suspect is flawed, as is the claim that her loose hair and her alabaster flask signal her profession to be that of

prostitute. The counters to such conventional readings are several: the woman does not function as a courtesan at a symposium, for rather than engage in witty conversation, she is silent; loose hair was not necessarily seen in antiquity as a sign of loose morals, especially for *unmarried* women; and no one at the Pharisee's banquet appears to take offense at her appearance or actions. Finally, Reid finds it misguided at best to conclude that only through prostitution could a woman obtain the finances needed for an alabaster flask (as a simple notice of such Lukan self-employed women as Lydia and Prisca indicates). Under Reid's clearer vision, the woman of ch. 7 appears not as a sexual sinner but as potential disciple and even christological prefiguration. Thus, to see Jesus properly requires also that one look again at the woman who loved much.

Reid acknowledges that her interpretation is shaped by her feminist prescription, that her positive evaluation of the anointing woman does not conform to what she sees as the evangelist's shortsighted presentation of gender roles. She does not employ, as Kahl does, a hermeneutics of conspiracy; she finds upon peeling away many of the traditional scales through which the gospel has been seen, a text with both a manifest and a subtle sexism that needs to be scrutinized through new lenses. Strengthening these feminist glasses are new questions: what has been seen before? What is wrong with this received picture? How does the picture relate to what my own experience tells me is the case? Where does this vision lead?

In Teresa Hornsby's initial viewing of Luke's seventh chapter, she saw neither scandal nor condemnation; rather, she found the anointing woman's actions to be both erotic and captivating and the woman herself positively powerful and memorable in her lavish physicality and lack of shame. Turning to the scholarly literature, however, she found another story, one in which the woman was negatively sexualized and de-physicalized. And this discovery led her to explore both presupposed gender biases imported into the text by readers, and the possible participation of the text itself in the sexualization of the woman. Although Hornsby finds narrative prompts that can support an erotophobic and misogynistic interpretation, she also indicates that such readings are choices made by readers rather than dicta forced upon them.

Beginning with Luke's identification of the woman as 'sinner', Hornsby makes what should be but is not an obvious observation: the connotations we readers today bring to the label are not necessarily shared by the narrator or the earliest audiences of the gospel. 'Sinner' is a culturally defined term, and its connotations necessarily vary. To take an example from recent US debate: some find homosexuality to be a sin while others

find efforts to prevent two men or two women from obtaining the legal protections available to heterosexual couples to be sinful. The Greek term for 'sin', ἁμαρτωλός, had in antiquity two primary connotations: a position in opposition to the 'good' or the 'normal', with these categories socially determined and therefore unstable; and a situation of being 'off center' or imperfect through either excess or defect. In this second definition, the 'center' is a cultural construct perceived as an essential state and, as Aristotle notably argued, premised according to a masculine norm. To label a man a 'sinner' could, consequently, suggest not only his ontological or theological status, but also his gendered one. Since women, at least in the Aristotelian sense, are imperfect men, then they may also be seen as sinners; they are by nature 'off the mark'. Put differently, the categories of woman and sinner have cultural affinities.

According to Hornsby, interpreters amplify their view that Luke's anointing woman is a sinner by highlighting her out-of-placeness, and they ascertain this position by filling in gaps: they interpret her being 'in the city' as a substitutionary phrase indicating 'public woman' or prostitute, although the connection to known euphemisms is tentative at best; they see her as intruding into Simon's house, when Luke locates her there prior to the start of the narrative and when no one at the banquet actually finds her out of place; they see her actions as excessive or inappropriate because of Simon's thought that were Jesus a prophet, he would know who and what sort of woman is touching him, although Simon objects to nothing the woman *does* and although Jesus deems her actions both necessary and expected. However, to call these interpretations incorrect would also be problematic: Luke's narrative leaves the gaps open to a variety of freight.

Like D'Angelo, Hornsby deduces the gospel's concern to portray Jesus as an ideal male; therefore, the anointing scene, by depicting Jesus as the passive recipient of a physically pleasurable, potentially erotic act, has the potential to disrupt gender roles. The Third Gospel does not conform to the other canonical versions of the anointing and so defuse its potential feminizing of Jesus; in Luke's presentation, the scene is one neither of royal investiture nor funerary anticipation. Therefore, to avoid the problems of inappropriate gender roles (which may include the placement of a woman in the position of anointing a king), Luke's readers, following narratives cues, code the story in terms of the woman's sinfulness and repentance. The sexualization of the woman allows a deemphasis upon or even an ignoring of her economic independence, social freedom, self-direction, and unabashed physicality – in other words, her 'masculine traits'. As the sexual one, the anointing woman retains the feminine role; Jesus' masculinity is thereby unmolested. As the woman is

continually coded 'sinner', her feminine role is re-emphasized, and Jesus, who attests to her forgiveness and whose attestation is highlighted with respect to the woman's voicelessness, again reasserts his masculine role. The more the woman's nature as 'sinner' is stressed and the more attention is paid to the issues of sin and forgiveness, the less emphasis is placed on Jesus' receiving of what could be construed as a highly erotic massage. Further, as those who approach this text with erotophobic presuppositions believe, the Christ would not be in favor of such attention, and surely not from a 'sinner'.

Thus, conventional readings, developed by following certain narrative gaps and intimations, sexualize the woman while de-sexualizing Jesus' reception of her services. Were the openings in the story filled by other readings, observes Hornsby, the labeling of male and female behaviors as normative or off-the-mark and so the definition of 'sinner' would need reconsidering as would the view of gender adopted both by the Third Gospel and by its readers. To take one example: the Lukan Jesus, seen as praising a woman who is profusely physical and emotional without shame or hindrance and depicted as enjoying her touch, emerges as quite a different Jesus than the one who sponsors a program of asceticism. Yet with this rereading, gaps in the narrative open upon less positive conclusions, for the praise and the depiction just noted can also be regarded as reinforcing women's ideal submissiveness and servitude.

Women's service, presented through descriptions such as the anointing woman's attention to Jesus' body or specifically indicated by the term διακονία, is, like sexuality, a highly conflicted issue in Lukan studies. Notice of the anointing woman's service to Jesus in Lk. 7 as well as of her economic independence leads to the next pericope as well as to the next contribution in this volume, Ben Witherington III's 1979 article, 'On the Road with Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Susanna, and Other Disciples—Luke 8.1-3'. Although Witherington does not carry the reputation of 'feminist', and although his numerous books and articles on women in the gospels have ranged from drawing feminist fire to, in some circles, a deliberate neglect, he is to no small extent responsible for reintroducing gospel women to the academic mainstream. The study reprinted here was, according to his own investigation, the first treatment of Lk 8.1-3 in any scholarly journal in a century. Perhaps as the next generation encounters Luke and Lukan scholarship, they will recover Witherington's earlier work, just as he recovered for the academy and to a great extent for conservative congregations influenced by his work, the women in Luke's gospel. At the very least, those interested in Luke's depiction of women would do well to (re-)visit Witherington's books and articles on the

subject, since this material remains a staple, and for many women an inspiring one, in various Evangelical settings.

This article, like Karris's, can be classified as a positive reading. Despite the often-cited lament that scholarship ignored women—save for either occasional statements designed to keep women in their (secondary, service-based) place or, on the extreme, for condemning them for the sin of Eve—Witherington's footnotes indicate several interpretations in earlier mainstream scholarship that today have substantial implications for feminist readers. These include the reading of Lk. 8.1-3 in relation to the parable of the sower's description of received and nurtured seed (the gendered implications of the metaphoric association of women and field are unobserved), the pericope's insistence on the family of Christ in distinction to the biological family, and the gospel's concern to dismantle class and economic divisions. Like some early feminists, Witherington offers the now generally discredited pitting of 'rabbinic Judaism' against Jesus' presumedly more accepting attitude toward women shown by his allowing women to follow him. Yet, unlike some of those earlier feminist writers, he at least positively acknowledges the freedoms granted to Jewish women (his examples are not necessarily 'rabbinic') to attend synagogue, to serve as patrons, and to learn from rabbis.

Witherington's conclusion that Luke reaffirms the maintenance of a gender-bifurcated system in which men have public authority is today repeated by a number of feminist writers. Whereas this conservatism may be decried in some circles, Witherington submits a possible alternative: in his reading, Jesus and so Luke offer women a means of reconceiving their traditional roles: they continue to prepare food and to serve, but now they do so with a new significance, for they too are also called to be disciples and witnesses. Women's position in society is not redrawn as much as it is extended. For some feminists, this benevolent dualistic structure is not enough and, as Reid makes explicit, Luke must be 'read against the grain'. For others—especially those non-professional readers who identify with Martha in their valuation of her domestic service—Witherington may locate an acceptable balance that both acknowledges women's witness and values their traditional roles.

Since Witherington's initial publication, there has been a spate of articles on Lk. 8.1-3. Esther A. de Boer, whose *Mary Magdalene: Beyond the Myth* explores in depth the various treatments this figure receives in both canonical and non-canonical contexts, for this volume brings her expertise to bear on Luke's particular contribution. Her reading offers an alternative to Witherington's argument that Luke divides the followers of Jesus according to gender with women retaining their typical role of providing material care. Meticulously dissecting Lk. 8.1-3, de Boer first

observes that the three verses do not discuss 'men and women' but describe specific men and specific women, some named and some not. Second, she reminds us that the account recollects what the people who attended Jesus did; it does not prescribe behavior for anyone, male or female. These points concerning the specific and the general, the descriptive and the prescriptive, are among the hallmarks of feminist exegesis.

Developing her argument against gender bifurcation, de Boer situates Luke's redactional concerns both through a comparison of the Third Gospel's presentation of women with those of Matthew and Mark and by an investigation of the nuances Luke gives particular terms. For example, she observes that the women of Mt. 27.55-56 and Mk 15.40-41 who minister to Jesus become, in Luke's rendition, more visible: they do appear prior to the passion narrative and so, as Lk. 23-24 indicates, can be presumed to have been with Jesus consistently during his mission. Whether this earlier notice enhances their role or delimits it is a separate matter. At the end of the gospel, when Mary Magdalene and the other women proclaim the resurrection, they are not believed. They are, according to Luke's narrative, both trustworthy and faithful, but they lack what the male followers have: authority. In this respect, gender differentiation remains.

According to de Boer we cannot, as is often done, presume that the women who accompanied Jesus and provided him with support were rich. Rather, she views the women as models of discipleship who use what they have for the benefit of all (cf. Acts 4.32-35). Nor does de Boer accept the common view that the women of Lk. 8.1-3 supported only Jesus or even Jesus and his male followers. Through detailed argumentation, de Boer proposes that the many unnamed women also provided for Mary Magdalene, Joanna, and Susanna; consequently, any claim that Lk. 8.1-3 maintains strict gender bifurcation must be reconsidered. Her presentation takes specific issue with Karris, whose article in this collection proposes that the women in Lk. 8.1-3 used their resources to engage in a mission for Jesus.

By distinguishing the named from the unnamed women, de Boer is also able to argue against another common view, namely, that all the women mentioned in the pericope had been healed. This reading counters the still-heard argument that according to Luke women follow Jesus out of gratitude, and it interrupts claims that Luke negates the importance of Jesus' women followers by depicting them as unsound or weak. De Boer's interpretation corresponds in this case with the points made by D'Angelo and Hornsby concerning the constructions of male and female: by healing the three named women, Jesus may be seen to

have banished those spirits and ailments that were part of their 'womanly weakness' and so made them 'manly'. However, Luke does not describe what these manly, named women 'do' and does not present them in active roles comparable to those given the male disciples. Thus, when Mary Magdalene and the women with her proclaim the resurrection, the disbelief that greets their announcement is not unanticipated.

Also addressing both the relationship among women and authority and Luke's conception of διακονία is Veronica Koperski, whose article is the first of four in this volume on the sisters Martha and Mary. No consensus has been, or likely will be, reached on this pericope. The four essays differ in their assessment of Mary and Martha's narrative function (paradigmatic of all women or describing unique individuals), relationship (complementary or in conflict), discipleship (ecclesial authority or domestic support), connection to imperial mores (reinforcing or exploding), implications for women's roles (encouragement to enhance contemplative or intellectual desires or the demeaning of necessary, gender-determined functions), and reception (liberation or constraint; good news or bad). Intepretations vary according to the methods, experiences, and textual priorities each author brings to the study.

Koperski's piece opens by delineating the strong and often negative responses to the pericope she found among lay men and women at an Education for Parish Service (EPS) program; these respondents, most of retirement age, commented on how angry *their* mothers had been when the passage appeared as part of a homily. As an academic and a woman religious, Koperski admits that she did not have either such strong or such negative reactions to the pericope. Thus begins an article that reflects varying responses to Lk. 10.28-32 based on generation, gender, relation to the church (celibate religious and lay; Catholic and Protestant), and connection to the Bible (professional exegete and naive reader). Through an informed recital of work on the narrative, beginning with Origen and granting special attention to the studies of Stevan Davies, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, Adele Reinhartz, Turid Karlsen Seim, Barbara E. Reid, and Robert M. Price, Koperski demonstrates the diverse emphases and comparative texts (including Lk. 15, Jn 11–12; Gal. 4; 1 Cor. 7.32-35; 10.21; Acts 2, and Koperski's own focus on Acts 6.1-7) through which these scant five verses have been understood.

Having explored in detail both positive and negative interpretations of the story of Martha and Mary, Koperski relates how she recently returned to the same EPS group. At this second visit, her students expressed their concerns now not for their mothers, but for their daughters: women who perceive themselves to be increasingly alienated from the church. For these parents and daughters, Koperski finds in the story of Martha and

Mary itself a locus of comfort. While not denying the complications and potentially negative implications of the text, she finds messages worth proclaiming: the concern that anxiety be alleviated; the notice that being 'the leader' may not fulfill all one's desires; the benefits of both active and contemplative behavior. It is with both wariness and hope that the next three articles, using yet three more new critical approaches, add to the understanding of Mary, Martha, and Jesus.

Loveday Alexander, like Koperski, begins her study of 'sisters in adversity' with a reflection from a mature student: 'I've been a Martha all my life—now it's my turn to be a Mary'. Rather than turn to the corpus of biblical scholarship on the passage, however, Alexander explores the 'popular exegesis' of the story to inquire about the effects of biblical stereotypes on both male and female readers. Although the academy often prioritizes the historical-critical approach to analysis and so grants authorial intent and original reception greater value than contemporary effect, Alexander shows this decision to be arbitrary rather than an essential. Exegesis that begins with real readers has just as much claim to scholarly attention as that beginning with historical-critical issues; in feminist analysis, it may have an even greater claim. For example, Alexander notes that in popular readings, Mary's 'portion' has been extended from indicating her entitlement to a discipleship role to a woman's rights to pursue a professional career and seek self-fulfillment. Luke the evangelist may be surprised by such a reading, but authorial intent—especially since it is itself a constructed category—cannot be the sole determinant of interpretation.

Not only popular readings from the laity, but also interpretations by the clergy (who, for better or worse, do not always heed what their Scripture professors—if they had Divinity training at all—say about a particular passage) enter Alexander's purview. She sharply observes how in her own experience male preachers consistently fall into the patriarchal trap of first using their dominant social position to assign unpopular tasks to the subordinate group and then denigrating those tasks. As she effectively captures the scene: 'Martha was "fussing", they say, looking down from the pulpit on to their predominantly female audience, about unnecessary female concerns: "and we all know", they add, before going home to their well-cooked Sunday dinners, "how women do fuss".'

Detailing other interpretations of the two sisters, Alexander turns to the *Gospel of Thomas*'s famous last logion. To Peter's insistence that Mary leave the group 'for women are not worthy of life', Jesus responds, 'every woman who will make herself male will enter the kingdom of Heaven'. As Alexander observes, this scene already appears in the

medieval tales of Robin Hood and continues into children's literature today: Maid Marian (the name is not without significance) can play with the boys, but only in a subordinate role: the girl is not to be a real boy, but rather a tom-, or should we say, Thomas-boy. Even in Luke's account, Mary is the 'good one' because, as popular exegesis reveals, she is doing what 'the men' do even as she remains silent and submissive to her male teacher; she is not concerned with distaff issues, but neither is she vocal or independent.

The allegorical reading in which Mary and Martha are seen to represent particular lifestyles, and to which, in varying degrees, modern women subscribe is endemic to interpretations ranging from the medieval even to present-day feminist readings. In my own experiences with Christian women of various denominations in adult education programs, I have often read to them Luke's account of Martha and Mary and then asked, 'Do you identify with any of these characters?' Half the room claims to be Martha; the rest are Marys. 'So none of you identifies with Jesus?' I inquire. This identification, so common among (male) pastors, almost never surfaces among their options.

In a reading similar to that offered by de Boer, Alexander offers another means of escaping the allegorical trap. She suggests that the narrative may be seen as concerning two first-century women named Martha and Mary—whose proper names are emphasized in the story—not about all women, everywhere, at all times. In fact, proposes Alexander, Luke might be more interested in reversing existing value systems, rather than setting up new ones; there may be an element of paradox rather than prescription in Jesus' response to Martha. If the pericope is seen as overturning audience expectations about 'good' and 'bad' behavior, then to use the pericope as a behavioral guide and to reinforce stereotypical descriptions for Martha and Mary is, to use Hornsby's phrase, to 'miss the mark'.

Also seeking to complicate stereotypical interpretations, Warren Carter rejects those readings that generalize the story of Martha and Mary into the banal rubric that Christians should be hospitable. Incomplete at best and likely unhelpful are those interpretations that lead to a clerical preference for liturgical as against diaconal ministry, blithely enfranchise women for positions in higher education (too bad on this), or argue for erasing women's leadership. Like Alexander, Carter proposes to look at Mary and Martha as individual women rather than gender paradigms, and only then to draw a general conclusion about women in the early church and Luke's attitude toward them.

Through detailed philological investigation, principally of the connotations of διακονία-terms, Carter demonstrates how the term is too often

misread as having a primary designation of menial service, such as waiting on tables. Instead, Carter argues that διακονία reflects a mediating role: the one who engages in διακονία is a go-between, a spokesperson, one who acts on behalf of another, one commissioned to a special task. Complementing these observations is his application of the patron–client model to understand the relationships among God, the church-leader, and the members of the community. For Luke's readers, Martha's διακονία will have been associated not with kitchen duties (that Martha's house even had a 'kitchen' is another problematic stereotype) but with participation in ministerial activities. If this connotation is followed, then we need not conclude that Martha is preoccupied by culinary concerns. Her preoccupation with διακονία relates to her ministerial roles: preaching, teaching, caring, supporting (Carter observes that the same connotations of the term can be applied to the women of Lk. 8.1-3).

If Martha is a missionary leader, then so too is her 'sister' (ἀδελφή) Mary. Building on D'Angelo's earlier work, Carter locates Mary and Martha among the 'missionary women partners' in the early church, and in this context he finds the source of Martha's problem: her distraction relates to difficulties with her ministerial partner. Jesus' response to her then becomes not a rebuke, as it is traditionally understood, but an answer to her prayer. He encourages her to overcome the distractions that face all faithful followers (and perhaps clergy especially), and to regain her single-heartedness. That religious leaders become so involved in the 'business' of church that they sometimes forget the focus of their worship is by no means a problem unique to the twenty-first century. Finally, since Mary and Martha are, in this configuration, partners, what is positive about Martha's ministry can also be applied to Mary's role. Mary is commended for listening to Jesus, but Luke does not restrict her role, or anyone's role, to that merely of listener. Like her sister-in-ministry, Mary must not only hear the word, but also keep it (so Lk. 11.27-28).

In order to serve as an effective minister, deacon, or 'go-between', communicative skills are essential. Unfortunately, communication is not always an easy task, as Martha and Mary—sisters whom Luke never shows as talking with each other—indicate. The form of communication the silent Mary adopts only exacerbates the problem, for both Martha and all who encounter her subsequently must determine what her silence indicates. Pamela Thimmes's contribution, centering on the formalities of communication, offers one way of deciphering Luke's apparent silences.

Observing that Martha 'serves', a role often delegated to women at public meals, and that Mary sits at a male's feet, the place of the wife at a

public meal, Thimmes notices that much is wrong with this ostensibly conventional, proper picture: the setting is private, not public; Mary is a friend, not a wife; and an unmarried man is being hosted in the home of two (single?) women. What is in the popular readings seen as an otherwise mundane setting is, from a first-century perspective, potentially quite scandalous. Conversely, drawing upon anthropological studies of meals and of space, Thimmes also reveals how Luke's story communicates a hierarchy of relationships: table service is subordinate to preaching/proclamation; women are subordinate to men; and a gender and sexual politics converge into the oppositions of serving and sitting, speech and silence. Jesus, functioning in this reading much as he does in interpretations of that other meal scene, the story of the anointing in Lk. 7.36-50, not only emerges as the arbiter of appropriate behavior, he also, according to Thimmes, establishes the positions women may hold in community ministry.

According to Thimmes, one reason Lk. 10.38-42 has created such an exegetical quandary is that it appears to employ opposing metaphors of speech and silence: the reader, she concludes, is left to wrestle with the opposing models—Mary and Martha, silence and speech—and, at the same time, recognize that in favoring one, there is the risk of abandoning the other. The observation holds as well for the reception of other women 'partners' in the scriptural tradition: Sarah and Hagar, Leah and Rachel, Ruth and Naomi. Perhaps the observation might be extended: one cannot understand men in the biblical tradition without a recognition of the role of women: Abraham requires Sarah and Hagar; Jacob requires Leah and Rachel (as well as Bilhah and Zilpah); Boaz gains his full characterization in relation to both Naomi and Ruth. And, as Luke makes clear, Jesus is dependent upon the διακονία women provide him.

The concern expressed by several of the articles for hearing the voices of real readers returns in Carol Schersten LaHurd's essay. This original and highly insightful piece on Lk. 15 combines two interests that have become increasingly popular over the past few decades: readings from particular social locations and the honor/shame mechanism.

LaHurd recounts how her own immersion into Yemeni culture prompted her to consider how her observations of gender roles in Arab Muslim society could serve as a resource for gospel analysis. Familiar with the work of Kenneth E. Bailey, whose experiences teaching in Beirut and conversations with Arab Christian men in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq inform his studies of Luke's gospel, LaHurd correctly recognized that women's voices would likely have their own distinct contributions. Conjoining her own observations in Yemen with interviews with Arab Christian women in the US, LaHurd turned to re-examine studies of

Luke's gospel by both self-identified feminist scholars and by interpreters who employ the tools of cultural anthropology. Not only does she uncover new interpretations of the woman with the lost coin, she offers a very helpful corrective to the common presuppositions Western readers, feminist or not, bring to Luke's narrative.

As several of the essays in this volume demonstrate, there is often a disconnection between what feminists in the academy and what lay, naive, or non-professional readers conclude about a text. LaHurd shows how these disjunctions, prompted by a combination of social location and historical-cultural assumptions, also impact readings of Lk. 15. While the academic feminist may emphasize how gender bifurcation substantially hinders women in terms of social mobility and influence, both LaHurd's own experiences and the testimony of the women she interviewed revealed the comparative accessibility women have to male gatherings, as opposed to the almost complete lack of freedom men, even in their own homes, have in entering rooms where women are gathered. For readers who retain stereotypes of how 'all women' in first-century Hellenized contexts lived, LaHurd's descriptions of life in different Yemeni settings (rural and urban, rich and poor, north and south, public and private) shatter any reified view. To those who insist that Luke presents women characters as having little status and power compared to men, LaHurd's interviews with both Christian and Arab women demonstrate the degree to which Western feminist interpreters are reading from a particularly Western cultural bias, and that 'women and men socialized and educated in the industrialized West may not be the best judges of what constitutes oppression'. These correctives then underline LaHurd's unanticipated interpretations of the third parable in Lk. 15, that of the father and his two sons: not only many academic assessments of women's roles, but also scholarly conceptions of appropriate parental, filial, and fraternal behavior reveal themselves to be clothed in Western garb.

The concluding essay in this volume, Maria-Luisa Rigato's 'remembering' of Lk. 24.6-8 opens with a citation from Pope John Paul II's 1988 *Mulieris dignitatem*, which both acknowledges 'the manifestations of the feminine "genius" which have appeared in the course of history' and offers the hopeful anticipation of Gal. 3.28, the time when there is 'no longer "male or female" in the church, but we are "all one in Christ Jesus"'. The two points can be seen as mutually exclusive: if gender distinctions are erased, then the special role of women in the church risks erasure as well. Conversely, if gender distinctions are maintained, then unwanted, heirarchical valuations may come in their wake; the separate-but-equal system may be theoretically nice, but it does not always work

in practice (LaHurd's essay cautions against the insistence that the system has no positive value). One means by which this threatening dichotomy can be negotiated in that of memory. The actualization of a changed future requires recollection of the past, and the politics of this actualization may prompt memories to be presented in a special, usable way.

As the women at the tomb are commanded to 'remember' Jesus' message (Lk. 24.7), so Rigato recollects how throughout Luke's gospel and Acts words of memory appear, and how they relate both to women as subjects (who remember) and to women as objects (who are remembered). Tracing the appearances of the central terms in Lk. 24.6-8 throughout the gospel, she finds connections to occasions when women received Jesus' teaching; these women include those who accompanied him (8.1-3) as well as his hosts, Mary and Martha (10.38-42). She also observes how women are with the 'Eleven' upon the return of the two who meet Jesus on the road to Emmaus, and how they are present at Pentecost. Extending these observations, Rigato proposes that women were also present at the Last Supper. And, to return to the egalitarian vision with which she began, she echoes the prophecy of Joel which Luke includes in Acts 2.17-18, the prophecy concerning the time when 'all flesh...both men and women... shall prophesy'. Throughout this exercise, she calls to mind terms and stories that are too often forgotten, or not remembered in context, or not brought together.

The articles in this volume, by both men and women, remember women's absence in biblical studies, both as participants in the practice and as subjects for analysis, and they see or at least hope for futures wherein the diverse roles of women in church, academy, and society in general will be accorded the *dignity* they deserve. Studies of women's presentations in the texts of the New Testament and early Christianity as well as recoveries of either the roles of real women or at least of the gender constructions that impacted the course of their lives have become such a major part of the academic enterprise today that to ignore this material is 'off the mark' (ἁμαρτωλός). What is remembered, whom, and how, will vary according to the interests, experiences, and presuppositions each reader imports, but such variation is neither unexpected nor undesirable. Without the sharing of diverse perspectives, and without the vigilant attempt to recall that all memories are partial and subjective, our studies risk ossification, the silencing of certain voices, co-optation by those who insist they can speak for everyone. Heidi Geib, commenting on Luke's injunction to 'remember Lot's wife' (Lk. 17.32), remarked in a seminar at Vanderbilt last year that Luke does not tell us what to remember about this silent figure. Feminist readers clearly have much more work to do, but at least now we can do it with the recollection of the

scholars who have preceded us, with the prophetic anticipation that our concerns will be heeded, and with the combined freedom and warning that Mrs Lot's example provides: what we recall when we look back may be an evil that requires rejection, a repository of values that can no longer be proclaimed, a tale of condemnation that masks another story—of home, security, women's community—lost to recorded history. If we fail to remember, we too will turn to stone; if we remain mired in the past rather than use what we remember to shape the future, we shall have failed the next generation.

# Women and Discipleship in Luke*

Robert J. Karris

In 1966, W.C. Van Unnik described Luke–Acts as a 'storm center'.[1] The storm clouds to which Van Unnik called our attention have largely dissipated; today one rarely reads an article on something like 'early catholicism in Luke–Acts'.[2] In our day it takes no extensive education in meteorology to note that there are storm clouds on the horizon primarily for North American New Testament scholars,[3] and that they are coming

* Presidential address delivered at the fifty-sixth general meeting of the Catholic Biblical Association of America, held at the Mount Community Center, Atchison, KS, 14-17 August 1993. Originally published in *CBQ* 56/1 (1994), pp. 1-20. Reprinted by permission.

1. W.C. Van Unnik, 'Luke–Acts, a Storm Center in Contemporary Scholarship', in Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn (eds.), *Studies in Luke–Acts: Essays in Honor of Paul Schubert* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966), pp. 15-32.

2. For the questions created by the old 'storm clouds', and answers to these questions, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I–IX: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB, 28; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), pp. 3-34, 143-270. For an observation that Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza's work on Lk. 10.38-42 may be reintroducing the hypothesis that Luke–Acts is 'early catholic', see John R. Donahue, 'Discussion', in Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Theological Criteria and Historical Reconstruction: Martha and Mary, Luke 10.38-42* (Protocol of the Fifty-Third Colloquy, April 10, 1986, of the Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture; ed. H.W. Waetjen; Berkeley: Center for Hermeneutical Studies, 1987), pp. 41-63 [48-49].

3. It is arguable that the storm center about which I write in this article does not appear on the horizon in other countries. For Italy, Silverio Zedda (*Teologia della salvezza nel Vangelo di Luca* [Studi biblici, 18; Bologna: Edizioni dehoniane, 1991], p. 118 n. 76) writes that he considers 'rather strange' the opinion of Elizabeth Tetlow (*Women and Ministry in the New Testament* [New York: Paulist Press, 1980]) that Luke views women negatively. For Germany, Rudolf Schnackenburg (*Die Person Jesu Christi im Spiegel der vier Evangelien* [HTKNT Sup, 4; Freiburg: Herder, 1993], p. 225) writes that today's feminist movement is against androcentrism and champions the equality of men and women: 'In this situation Luke, who can be called the Evangelist of Women, has great importance'. But see now the work of the German scholar, Luise Schottroff, *Let the Oppressed Go Free: Feminist Perspectives on the New Testament* (ET

from the direction of studies on Luke's view of women. These storm clouds, it seems to me, prompt us to re-examine the way we do exegesis.

One of the purposes of this article is that of describing briefly the new storm center of the 1990s. In the second part of my article I plan to take a look at some other research on Lk. 8.1-3, Lk. 22.14-38, and Lk. 23.49–24.53, to see whether these studies intensify the storm clouds or may aid in dissipating them.

## *Studies on Women in Luke*

As I read the scholarly literature on what Luke has to say about women, I note that there are two lines of thought: one maintaining that Luke has a positive view of women, the other that his view of women, especially as leaders, is negative. Although it is difficult to give exact dates for the origins of these two viewpoints, I will offer some general indications of the time.

In the contemporary period, it would seem that from 1970 to 1990 or so there had been a fairly wide consensus among certain English-speaking, especially North American, Roman Catholic New Testament scholars that Luke had a favorable view of women.[4] I sample this perspective by quoting from an article by Eugene Maly in 1980:

> It would seem that, while Jesus and the early church clearly did not ignore completely the contemporary social strictures [about women], they did go beyond those strictures at times by reasons of the Kingdom vision they

A.S. Kidder; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993 [Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1991]).

4. See Eugene H. Maly, 'Women and the Gospel of Luke', *BTB* 10 (1980), pp. 99-104; Neal M. Flanagan, 'The Position of Women in the Writings of St. Luke', *Marianum* 40 (1978), pp. 288-304; E. Jane Via, 'Women, the Discipleship of Service and the Early Christian Ritual Meal in the Gospel of Luke', in U. King (ed.), *Women in the World's Religions, Past and Present* (New York: Paragon, 1987), pp. 38-55; Rosalie Ryan, 'The Women from Galilee and Discipleship in Luke', *BTB* 15 (1985), pp. 56-59; Jane Kopas, 'Jesus and Women: Luke's Gospel', *TTod* 43 (1986), pp. 192-202; Mark Allan Powell, *What Are They Saying About Luke?* (New York: Paulist Press, 1989), pp. 93-97; Joseph A. Grassi, *The Hidden Heroes of the Gospels: Female Counterparts of Jesus* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1989), pp. 83-112, 139; Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke–Acts: A Literary Interpretation*. I. *The Gospel according to Luke* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), pp. 132-39; *idem*, *The Narrative Unity of Luke–Acts: A Literary Interpretation*. II. *The Acts of the Apostles* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), pp. 208-209, 280-81; Constance F. Parvey, 'The Theology and Leadership of Women in the New Testament', in R.R. Reuther (ed.), *Religion and Sexism: Images of Woman in the Jewish and Christian Traditions* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1974), pp. 117-49 (138-47); Francis J. Moloney, *Woman: First Among the Faithful* (Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 1986), pp. 50-74.

> enjoyed...while we find in Luke no outright condemnation of the current social and religious strictures on women, those strictures are often wholly laid aside by Jesus in his ministry.[5]

At this point I do not want to offer a detailed critique of the vast literature on Luke's 'positive' view of women. Sufficient are two rather general observations, which may do justice to most of the literature. First, it seems to me that these 'positive' studies either are written before the new findings about the role of women as leaders and even apostles in the missionary movement, reflected in the genuine Pauline epistles, or fail to take those studies into account.[6] Such findings may provide a background for a possible contrast between the way Luke views women, the way they view themselves, and the way others viewed them in a very early Christian movement, namely, that of the apostle Paul. Second, it seems to me that often the methodology employed in these 'positive' studies is not crystal-clear and presupposes that it is rather easy to infer from a study of Lukan texts about women what Jesus of Nazareth taught about women and how he related to them during his historical ministry.

The position that Luke has a 'negative' viewpoint on women commenced in the early 1980s and has been gathering enormous power since then.[7] I sample this perspective by quoting from an article by Mary Rose D'Angelo in 1990:

> If one concurs with Parvey that the gospel intends the education of women, its apologetic is also addressed to women who practice and aspire to practice that prophetic ministry, and its intent is to change that practice, to restrict the participation of women to the bounds of discreet behavior.

5. Maly, 'Women and the Gospel of Luke', p. 104.

6. See, e.g., Wayne Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983); Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1983).

7. Tetlow, *Women and Ministry*, pp. 101-9; Elisabeth Moltmann-Wendel, *The Women Around Jesus* (London: SCM Press, 1982), esp. pp. 140-44; Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, esp. pp. 118-59; Jacob Jervell, 'The Daughters of Abraham: Women in Acts', in *idem* (ed.), *The Unknown Paul: Essays on Luke–Acts and Early Christian History* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Press, 1984), pp. 146-57, 186-90; Mary Rose D'Angelo, 'Women in Luke–Acts: A Redactional View', *JBL* 109 (1990), pp. 441-61; Stevan Davies, 'Women in the Third Gospel and the New Testament Apocrypha', in Amy-Jill Levine (ed.), *'Women Like This': New Perspectives on Jewish Women in the Greco-Roman World* (SBL Early Judaism and Its Literature, 1; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), pp. 185-97; Jane Schaberg, 'Luke', in Carol A. Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe (eds.), *The Women's Bible Commentary* (London: SPCK; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), pp. 275-92; Gail R. O'Day, 'Acts', in Newsom and Ringe (eds.), *The Women's Bible Commentary*, pp. 305-12.

> As I said above, the women in the gospel are at once a means of edification and of control.[8]

At this point I do not want to enter into an extensive critique of the considerable literature on Luke's 'negative' view of women. Two observations on the work of two influential authors will suffice.

First, whereas many of the studies which contended that Luke has a 'positive' view of women used the text of Luke–Acts as a 'window' to see the teaching and activity of Jesus of Nazareth, the work, especially of D'Angelo, uses the text of Luke–Acts as a 'window' to see what was going on in Luke's situation, church, and mind. Those engaged in literary and narrative studies of the gospels would rightly criticize those of us who engage in such redaction-critical studies as engaging in allegory.[9] From the finest historical materials available, we hypothesize a complex historical situation as the background to be seen through the window of the text. Because we know that background, we are able to read the pertinent texts as instances of that putative background. Those who know the code can look through the window we have constructed and see the same background. Further, even granted the validity of using the method of redaction criticism, we may have to relearn the lesson which Bruce Vawter taught concerning the hymn of Col. 1.15-20 and its redaction.[10] That is, as times change and new needs arise, which is more important (more canonical?), the original material, or its redaction? To put it in D'Angelo's terminology: is 'education' or 'control' more vital today, and for whom?[11]

Second, the studies conducted on Luke's 'negative' view of women by Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza need to be supplemented and perhaps corrected by studies using other methodologies. For example, her reading of the story of Martha and Mary in Lk. 10.38-42 seems too

8. D'Angelo, 'Women in Luke–Acts', p. 461. Her article has had considerable influence. See, e.g., Ross Shepard Kraemer, *Her Share of the Blessings: Women's Religions among Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greco–Roman World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 129: 'Yet Mary Rose D'Angelo *has demonstrated* that many of Luke's stories about women are tailored to Luke's several agendas, including his desire to demonstrate the respectability of the early Christian movement and its acceptance within aristocratic Greco-Roman society' (emphasis mine).

9. See the editors' 'Introduction: The Lives of Mark', in Janice Capel Anderson and Stephen D. Moore (eds.), *Mark and Method: New Approaches in Biblical Studies* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), pp. 1-22 (10).

10. Bruce Vawter, 'The Colossians Hymn and the Principle of Redaction', *CBQ* 33 (1971), pp. 62-81.

11. D'Angelo, 'Women in Luke–Acts', p. 461.

narrow, for it fails to take seriously Luke's thematic of meals, at most of which Jesus' table partners, be they men or women, disciples or Pharisees, are taken to task. Martha takes her place in the same line as others in Luke's gospel who might complain that they have gotten a 'raw deal' from Jesus.[12]

How is one to adjudicate between these differing views of Luke's views of women? It is insufficient to say that one interpretation is feminist, or even radical feminist, while the other is nonfeminist, for one could reasonably argue that proponents of either position are feminist. Further, it is clear that exegetes of either persuasion are reading the same texts. It is equally clear that the cultural climate in North America and the First World in general is providing ocular equipment which previous generations did not have at their disposal. Using this equipment, scholars are now able to see and read details in the text which they may have bypassed in earlier readings.[13] It remains to be seen, however, which view of Luke's view of women has seen more clearly the meaning of the Lukan texts on women.

### *New Data on Luke's View*

In what follows on Lk. 8.1-3, Lk. 22.14-38, and 23.49–24.53 I would like to add some more data from the 'positive' perspective on Luke's view of women and thus help sharpen our perceptions of the issues involved in the storm center of Luke's view(s) of women. In doing this, I gratefully

12. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza's highly influential views on Lk. 10.38-42 are found in three studies: 'A Feminist Critical Interpretation for Liberation: Martha and Mary (Lk. 10.38-42)', *Religion and Intellectual Life* 3 (1986), pp. 21-35 [16-23]; *eadem*, 'Theological Criteria and Historical Reconstruction'. The minutes of a discussion after her presentation quote Fiorenza as saying: 'I read the overall Lukan work as situated between the Pauline writings and the Pastorals. I do think that Luke understands women to be members of the Christian community. He stresses their membership but plays down their leadership' (p. 46). *Eadem*, *But She Said: Feminist Practices of Biblical Interpretation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), pp. 52-76, 230-35. On pp. 66-67 of this last work Fiorenza acknowledges criticism of her methodology and attempts—woodenly in my opinion—to incorporate some aspects of a more contextual literary and narrative criticism into her analysis. See also *eadem*, 'Lk. 13.10-17: Interpretation for Liberation and Transformation', *TD* 36 (1989), pp. 303-19, and *eadem*, *But She Said*, pp. 196-217, 250-55.

13. The phenomenon to which I am referring here has been called 'frames of meaning' by Fiorenza (*But She Said*, pp. 196-216). These 'frames of meaning', which have been produced in us readers by scholarly, secular, and ecclesiastical schooling, condition the way we read texts about women.

accept the invitation of Jane Schaberg to explore with enthusiasm and respect what is positive and promising (for women) in Luke's gospel.[14]

*Luke 8.1-3*

First, Lk. 8.1-3.[15] To reacquaint us with this passage, I use the NRSV and modify it somewhat to bring out the paratactic relation of the phrases to one another:

> Soon afterwards he was going on through cities and villages, proclaiming and bringing the good news of the kingdom of God, and the Twelve with him, and some women who had been cured of evil spirits and infirmities, Mary, called Magdalene, from whom seven demons had gone out, and Joanna, the wife of Herod's steward, Chuza, and Susanna and many others, who provided for them out of their resources.[16]

For our immediate purposes I call your attention to the fact that the NRSV, along with almost all English translations of Lk. 8.1-3, makes two sentences out of what is one long sentence in Greek; usually the second sentence commences with 'the Twelve were with him'.

In 1991 Carla Ricci published an important monograph on Lk. 8.1-3.[17] Among the many good points which she makes is an intense questioning

14. Schaberg, 'Luke', p. 291.

15. Understandably, those who maintain that Luke has a 'positive' or a 'negative' view of women have not neglected Lk. 8.1-3. For the 'positive' side, see, e.g., Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, I, p. 210: 'The distinction of having accompanied Jesus during his traveling ministry and trip to Jerusalem, which is one of the qualifications of the apostles (see Acts 1.21-22), is shared by them with these women (Lk. 8.1-2; 23.49)'. For the 'negative' side, see, e.g., Fiorenza, *But She Said*, p. 63: 'They are not characterized as disciples *akolouthein* as in Mark, but they are motivated by gratitude because Jesus heals them. That Luke intends to downplay women's equal discipleship comes to the fore not only in his attempt to subordinate women to the circle of the male disciples, but also in his characterization of them as wealthy benefactors'.

16. 'Provided for' is διακονεῖν. Ben Witherington III ('On the Road with Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Susanna, and Other Disciples—Luke 8.1-3', *ZNW* 70 [1979], pp. 243-48) [reprinted in this volume, pp. 133-39] translates διακονεῖν by 'serving'. He also assumes that these women retain their traditional roles of preparing food, etc. For a critique of Witherington's article, which was the first scholarly article on Lk. 8.1-3 published in 100 years, see David C. Sim, 'The Women Followers of Jesus: The Implications of Lk. 8.1-3', *HeyJ* 30 (1989), pp. 51-62. It might be noted that the NRSV's translation of Lk. 8.3, 'who provide for them out of their resources', is matched in the Revised NAB, Revised NEB, NJB, and NIV. Also, it might be noted that the NRSV has a note that indicates that some manuscripts read 'for him' instead of 'for them'. See further the KJV: 'which ministered unto him of their substance'; and the New KJV: 'who provided for Him from their substance'.

17. Carla Ricci, *Maria di Magdala e le molte altre: Donne sul cammino di Gesù* (Naples: D'Auria, 1991).

of the scholarly consensus that αὐτοῖς should be read in Lk. 8.3 rather than αὐτῷ.[18] Granting that the textual evidence is of equal weight for either reading, I summarize, in what immediately follows, Ricci's arguments for the singular reading, αὐτῷ. The structure of the single sentence in Lk. 8.1-3 indicates that there are two subjects, Jesus and the women, each governing a verb apiece. The sentence highlights the relation between these two subjects, and the harmonious balancing of the sentence suggests a singular reading in Lk. 8.3. After all, 'and the Twelve with him' is not a sentence but a phrase, almost tacked on to the end of Lk. 8.1. Most contemporary English translations, however, make this phrase the main clause and make dependent upon it the clause which follows, about the women.

Further, Bruce M. Metzger writes that 'the singular (compare Mt. 27.65; Mk 15.41) appears to be a Christocentric correction, due perhaps to Marcion'.[19] Ricci argues against Metzger that the christological emphasis is due to the internal data of the verse and its context. See Lk. 7.16 and especially Lk. 7.49: 'Who is this that forgives sins?'

With regard to the origin of the variant αὐτοῖς, Ricci observes that later Christians, not understanding the situation of the women with Jesus, and interpreting their 'service' as being communitarian, would have substituted 'them' for 'him'.

The argument that 'him' in Lk. 8.3 comes from a scribal harmonization with Mk 15.41//Mt. 27.65 is answered in a strikingly fresh way by Ricci. She argues that if the tradition behind Mark and Matthew had specifically mentioned that the women served not only Jesus but the Twelve, the redactors could have mentioned this fact in the context of the passion even if the apostles were absent. Thus, even if the singular αὐτῷ of Lk. 8.3 comes from a scribal harmonization with Mk 15.41//Mt. 27.65, it conveys authentic tradition. The plural αὐτοῖς is secondary.

I would suggest that Ricci's arguments from context should give interpreters pause and give them permission to perceive a singular reading in Lk. 8.3.

If we grant the validity of reading αὐτῷ in Lk. 8.3, the next question to be posed is a very complex one: What is the meaning of the verb διακονεῖν, whose subject is the women, and whose object is Jesus? Again, Ricci is very helpful as she points the interpreter away from interpreting διακονεῖν with the traditional female chores of waiting on tables, etc., in mind. She finds an apt parallel to the meaning of διακονεῖν in Mt. 25.44,

18. Ricci, *Maria di Magdala*, pp. 167-69.

19. Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1971), p. 144.

at the ending of Matthew's parable of the sheep and the goats: the hungry, the thirsty, the strangers, the naked, the sick, and those in prison are objects of διακονεῖν.[20] If one follows Ricci's parallel and transposes the use of διακονεῖν from Mt. 25.44 to Lk. 8.3, the women are doing more than waiting on tables for Jesus or serving him.

Ricci's questioning of the meaning of διακονεῖν in Lk. 8.3 allows us to use a wider net than Ricci's in finding an answer. In 1977 Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza added a significant building block to the meaning of διακονεῖν when she wrote: 'In New Testament Greek the title *diakonos* means not primarily "servant" or "deacon" but "herald" or official messenger'.[21]

What Fiorenza has to say about the meaning of διάκονος is very helpful, but it seems to me that it is only with the philological study by John N. Collins published in 1990 that we are able to catch a glimpse of the meaning of διακονεῖν from within Luke–Acts itself, for Collins's work enables us to interpret Luke by Luke.[22] Basing myself on the research of Collins, I make the following points about diakonein and its meaning in Lk. 8.3. First, 75 per cent of the usages of the stem *diakon-* in Greek literature mean 'go-between'. For example, in *Jos. Asen.* 15.7 what is said of the maidservant is not 'she will herself minister to them (διακονῆσει αὐτοῖς) for ever', but 'she will be their go-between [or messenger] forever'.[23] The

20. As I will have occasion to note again below in my treatment of John N. Collins's views on διακονεῖν, our English translations often stumble when it comes to translating the multidimensional stem *diakon-*. The revised New Testament of the NAB translates διακονεῖν in Mt. 25.44 this way: 'and not minister to your needs?' The NRSV has: 'and did not take care of you?'

21. 'The Apostleship of Women in Early Christianity', in Leonard Swidler and Arlene Swidler (eds.), *Women Priests:* A *Catholic Commentary on the Vatican Declaration* (New York: Paulist Press, 1977), pp. 135-40, here p. 137. When Fiorenza ('Apostleship of Women', p. 138) deals with Lk. 8.1-3 and Luke's view of apostles, she writes: 'Why then does Luke limit apostleship to men (Acts 1.21)? The answer might lie in his identification of the apostles with the Twelve. Thus he felt compelled to give the women disciples a preeminent place equal to that of the Twelve (Lk. 8.1-3), while not calling them apostles and deemphasizing their resurrection witness (Lk. 24.1-13)'. See also her article 'The Twelve', in Swidler and Swidler (eds.), *Women Priests*, pp. 114-22, esp. p. 119, for a different view of the significance of Lk. 8.1-3.

22. John N. Collins, *Diakonia: Re-interpreting the Ancient Sources* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). It is important to note at the outset that on p. 245 Collins interprets Lk. 8.1-3 in a way that, in my opinion, goes contrary to the data he has amassed and that would not square with the interpretation which I am going to make below. There are two problems in trying to make Collins's arguments clear: (1) most of our contemporary English translations of the pertinent passages in Acts (and Paul) render διακονεῖν with the dative differently than he does; (2) he does not write clearly.

23. Collins, *Diakonia*, p. 123.

dative case in these instances is used for indicating the sender. Second, the best parallels to the meaning of διακονεῖν in Lk. 8.3 are not those of the gospel, which primarily refer to meal service because of their context, but those of Acts. The clearest parallel to Lk. 8.3 is the one in Acts 19.22 which should be translated: 'So Paul sent two of his representatives on mission, Timothy and Erastus, to Macedonia'.[24] Perhaps Collins's meaning becomes more transparent if we use a non-Lukan example and invoke the usage of διακονεῖν and the dative in the Pauline parallel of Phlm. 13. The NRSV of Phlm. 13 reads: 'I wanted to keep him [Onesimus] with me, so that *he might be of service to me* in your place during my imprisonment for the gospel.' The revised New Testament of the NAB has: 'I should have liked to retain him for myself, so that *he might serve me* on your behalf in my imprisonment for the gospel.' Collins shrewdly and wittingly challenges such translations in his observations on Phlm. 13. 'Such a sentence, then, would be speaking of more than a butler for a gaoled apostle, and we are led to read "minister to me" in the sense of going out on errands—here, in the interests of the gospel.'[25]

If one accepts my reading of the philological data of Collins's monograph and my suggested reading of the singular αὐτῷ in Lk. 8.3, then one might accept my tentative translation of the last portion of Lk. 8.3: 'women who used their resources[26] in going on mission for him'.[27]

24. Collins, *Diakonia*, p. 224: 'In this Luke is saying something more precise than that the two men were Paul's "assistants" (NEB) or "helpers" (RSV, NJB). The phrase means that they were two of those who in the course of the mission were sent out in Paul's name; the Greek dative expressed here as "unto him"...designates the sender'. See p. 213 for a consideration of Acts 21.19 wherein διακονία designates 'a commission to go forth under a divine mandate!' Cf. Acts 1.17, 25; 20.24. See further p. 221: *Diakonia* in Acts 11.29 and 12.25 means to 'send [representatives] on mission'.

25. Collins, *Diakonia*, p. 222.

26. There is no space here to enter into the detail of the women's use of possessions. For the standard view that the women make their possessions, monetary and other, available to Jesus and the Twelve, see the summary study of John Gillman, *Possessions and the Life of Faith: A Reading of Luke–Acts* (Zacchaeus Studies; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991), p. 66.

27. But we can ask an immediate question of my interpretation: Do recent studies, especially those done with the methodology of social research, provide evidence that the phenomenon of female messengers was possible? Why posit a certain translation if there is no social reality to support it? For some evidence, see Luise Schottroff, 'Women as Followers of Jesus in New Testament Times: An Exercise in Social-Historical Exegesis of the Bible', in Norman K. Gottwald (ed.), *The Bible and Liberation: Political and Social Hermeneutics* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1983), pp. 418-27; Mary Rose D'Angelo, 'Women Partners in the New Testament', *JFSR* 6 (1990), pp. 65-86.

Robert Alter's literary studies will also contribute much to our reading of biblical texts such as Lk. 8.1-3 which are constructed paratactically. Despite the way many contemporary English translations render Lk. 8.1-3 and lead the reader to see the women as subservient to the Twelve, Lk. 8.1-3 does not spell out the relationship between the Twelve and the women as a hypotactic sentence would. It is left for us, the readers, to do this as we fill in the gaps between the three verses that make up Lk. 8.1-3 and honestly and forthrightly articulate the criteria that have allowed us to fill in the gaps the way we have.[28]

Above, I suggested that commentators may need to take a closer look at their time-honored solution to the text-critical problem whether to read αὐτῷ or αὐτοῖς in Lk. 8.3. I think the time has also come to re-examine another surety of the scholarly guild, namely, the old saw that Lk. 8.1-3 is a summary. Happily, Maria Anicia Co has taken us beyond our inherited wisdom on summaries in Luke–Acts to lead us down the road of narrative criticism.[29] It is worthwhile to repeat what she has to say about summary. A summary is not just 'an abbreviated account of specific literary segments that precede or follow it in the narrative'.[30] 'A summary may be defined as a relatively independent and concise narrative statement that describes a prolonged situation or portrays an event as happening repeatedly within an indefinite period of time.'[31]

Co's narrative definition of a Lukan 'summary' has vast implications for the interpretation of Luke's gospel. The women of Lk. 8.1-3 are present with Jesus and are his messengers even when they are not mentioned specifically in the Lukan text. That such is the case is made clear in Lk. 24.6-8. In that passage it is said that the women remember the words of Jesus which he spoke to them in Galilee. Now in Lk. 9.22 and 18.33-34, which have the closest parallels to the wording of Lk. 24.7, there is no specific mention of the presence of women. Thus, Lk. 24.6-8 is what has been called a 'completing analepsis' in narrative analysis, that is, 'the narration of an event *after* its ordinary chronological order in the narrative world; a flashback'.[32] And of course Co's provocative work on

28. Robert Alter (*The Art of Biblical Narrative* [New York: Basic Books, 1981], p. 12) sees meaning as a process, 'requiring continual revision...continual suspension of judgment, weighing of multiple possibilities, brooding over gaps in the information provided'.

29. Maria Anicia Co, 'The Major Summaries in Acts: Acts 2,42-47; 4,32-35; 5, 12-16: Linguistic and Literary Relationships', *ETL* 68 (1992), pp. 49-85.

30. Co, 'The Major Summaries in Acts', p. 56.

31. Co, 'The Major Summaries in Acts', pp. 56-57.

32. The definition given in the glossary of *Mark and Method*, p. 162. See also Robert J. Karris, 'The Gospel according to Luke', *NJBC*, pp. 675-721 [p. 697, §101].

the Lukan summary may also help answer the question of who was present at the Last Supper in Luke's gospel.

My conclusion on Lk. 8.1-3 is this: although the works of Ricci, Collins, Alter, and Co are perhaps not specifically aimed at the storm center under discussion here, they may give us a new angle of vision on it.

*Luke 22.14-38*

The article which Quentin Quesnell published in 1983 on the question whether women were present at Luke's Last Supper will allow us to address the issue of women and discipleship in Luke–Acts.[33] Among those who have reacted in writing to Quesnell's study, some have reacted positively,[34] accepting his method, which is that of 'consistent editorial analysis', and his conclusions: '(1) that Luke thought that a larger group than just the Twelve were at the Supper with Jesus; and (2) that within that larger group Luke included the women'.[35] Others, from both schools of thought on Luke's views of women,[36] have contested the validity of Quesnell's arguments.[37] From Quesnell's article and reactions to it in the scholarly literature, I draw the conclusions that follow.

33. Quentin Quesnell, 'The Women at Luke's Supper', in Richard J. Cassidy and Philip J. Scharper (eds.), *Political Issues in Luke–Acts* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1983), pp. 59-79.

34. See Via, 'Women', esp. pp. 42-45; *eadem*, 'Women in the Gospel of Luke', pp. 47-48; Ryan, 'The Women from Galilee', p. 58. See also Karris, 'The Gospel according to Luke', p. 715, §178; Christoph Zettner, *Amt, Gemeinde und kirchliche Einheit in der Apostelgeschichte des Lukas* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, 23/423; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1991), pp. 95-100, although they do not refer to Quesnell's work. While Zettner argues that a group including more than the twelve apostles was present at the Last Supper, he does not ask whether this larger group included women disciples. Dennis M. Sweetland, *Our Journey with Jesus: Discipleship according to Luke–Acts* (GNS, 23; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1990), thrice refers to Quesnell's article (p. 157 n. 18; p. 161 n. 23; p. 178 n. 18), but he does not assume a position for or against Quesnell's arguments.

35. Both quotations are from Quesnell, 'Women at Luke's Supper', p. 59.

36. In a review of the literature on Quesnell's article on Lk. 22.14-38 it becomes clear that the labels 'positive' and 'negative' may not be dichotomous. For example, Zedda *(Teologia della salvezza*, pp. 114-19) argues that Luke has a positive view of women, although Luke does not allow them to be official preachers of the word of God. In some circles, Zedda's view of Luke's view of women would be considered 'negative', for he contends that Luke did not give them leadership roles. In any case, the distinctions of 'positive' and 'negative' have good heuristic value.

37. See Marion L. Soards, *The Passion according to Luke: The Special Material of Luke 22* (JSNTSup, 14; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), p. 144 n. 5 1; Zedda, *Teologia della salvezza*, pp. 117-18 n. 75; Dorothy A. Lee, 'Presence or Absence? The Question of Women Disciples at the Last Supper', *Pacifica* 6 (1993), pp. 1-20, esp. pp. 1-6. In his

First, it is clear that the terminology and the focus in Lk. 22.14-38 and its context fluctuate. Thus, Judas is described as a member of 'the Twelve' in Lk. 22.3, 47. 'Disciples' are mentioned in the preparation for the supper (22.11) and in the garden after its conclusion (22.39, 45). Luke 22.14 makes reference to the 'apostles'. In Lk. 22.26 the focus is not on those present, for 'among you' refers to the Lukan community, which would have 'greater' and 'lesser' among them. To put it in other words: Lk. 22.26 does not make much sense if it is addressed to the Twelve, each of whom is a 'greater' one. In Lk. 22.32 Peter is supposed to strengthen 'his brothers', which in Acts is a term for male and female disciples. Luke 22.30 presents Jesus as telling those who sup with him that they will sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes. In Lk. 22.35-36 Luke refers to the sending out of the Seventy (Seventy-two) disciples, not to the sending out of the Twelve.

Second, it seems to me that the scholarly literature on the question of disciples, apostles, and the Twelve in Luke–Acts has not presented us with tools sufficient to answer a contemporary question like Quesnell's adequately.[38] For example, in 1968 Sean Freyne, interpreting Lk. 22.11 ('disciples') by Lk. 22.14 ('apostles') and concluding, 'Thus the group who are called apostles can also be styled disciples (see also 22.39, 45)', gave a very clear and easy answer to a question like Quesnell's.[39] In 1975 Gerhard Lohfink argued that Luke knows of a large group of disciples which has the Twelve at its center.[40] From his study of the texts that mention μαθήται he concludes that when Luke mentions only μαθήται,

'Daughters of Abraham', p. 148, Jervell seems to have anticipated views like those of Quesnell: 'At the Lord's Supper, only the apostles are present (22.15ff.). And the women do not belong to the "disciples" (cf. 22.11 and 39ff.)'.

38. The following studies employ a different thematic and (or) method and consequently do not get inside the problematic of women and discipleship in Luke–Acts: Charles H. Talbert, 'Discipleship in Luke–Acts', in Fernando F. Segovia (ed.), *Discipleship in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), pp. 62-75; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Luke the Theologian* (New York: Paulist Press, 1989). pp. 117-45; Jack Dean Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), pp. 109-39; Ralph Martin, 'Salvation and Discipleship in Luke's Gospel', *Int* 30 (1976), pp. 366-80; Robert F. O'Toole, *The Unity of Luke's Theology: An Analysis of Luke–Acts* (GNS, 9; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1984); Paul S. Minear, 'Jesus' Audiences, according to Luke', *NovT* 16 (1974), pp. 81-109; Sweetland, *Our Journey with Jesus.*

39. Sean Freyne, *The Twelve: Disciples and Apostles: A Study in the Theology of the First Three Gospels* (Library of Contemporary Theology; London: Sheed & Ward, 1968), p. 210. Freyne's monograph has influenced the work of Mark Sheridan, 'Disciples and Discipleship in Matthew and Luke', *BTB* 3 (1978), pp. 235-55, esp. pp. 252-54.

40. Gerhard Lohfink, *Die Sammlung Israels: Eine Untersuchung zur lukanischen Ecclesiologie* (SANT, 39; Munich: Kösel, 1975), pp. 66-67.

he implies that the Twelve are meant; thus, at Lk. 22.11, 39, 45 'disciples' means 'the Twelve'.

In order to answer questions like Quesnell's, Lukan scholars perhaps need to borrow from some of the promising work which narrative critics have produced on Mark's gospel and Matthew's gospel. This criticism looks at the character group 'disciples' and at the 'little people', who are not called 'disciples' but whose lives give evidence of the norms and values of discipleship. Thus, 'little people', like widows, may be more important theologically for the evangelist's message than the main character group, 'disciples'.[41]

My final point may be like shipping crude oil to Saudi Arabia, but it is appropriate in an article about an author who was fond of repetition. All who may want to discover women present or absent in Luke's account of the Last Supper should make full disclosure of their presuppositions, be these of scholarly, secular, or ecclesiastical origin.[42]

After these brief remarks about Luke's account of Jesus' important meal with his own before his death, I focus on recent scholarly contributions to Luke's account of Jesus' death and resurrection. These contributions may help us answer the question who was present at Luke's Last Supper.

*Luke 23.49-56 and the Male Disciples*

In Mark's account of Jesus' last hours he narrates that all Jesus' (male) disciples abandoned him (Mk 14.50). Luke's gospel does not have this detail, and in Lk. 23.49 Luke mentions that 'all Jesus' acquaintances', together with the women who had followed Jesus from Galilee, stood at a distance, watching how Jesus died. Commentators usually concede that the phrase 'all Jesus' acquaintances' includes Jesus' male disciples. It is not surprising that interpretations of the significance of this factor often divide along the lines of those who maintain that Luke has a

41. See, e.g., David Rhoads and Donald Michie, *Mark as Story: An Introduction to the Narrative of a Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982); Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, 'Fallible Followers: Women and Men in the Gospel of Mark', *Semeia* 28 (1983), pp. 29-48; Janice Capel Anderson, 'Matthew: Gender and Reading', *Semeia* 28 (1983), pp. 3-27 (reprint of this article in Amy-Jill Levine [ed.], *A Feminist Companion to Matthew* [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001], pp. 25-51).

42. It remains for those involved in 'social world' research to tell us of their findings on the question whether respectable women would be present at the same table with men. For some perspectives, see Jerome H. Neyrey (ed.), *The Social World of Luke–Acts: Models for Interpretation* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991); Kathleen E. Corley, *Private Women, Public Meals: Social Conflict in the Synoptic Tradition* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993).

'negative' or 'positive' view of women. For example, Schaberg argues that Luke is putting down the women disciples in favor of the male disciples.[43] Tannehill contends that Luke's characterization of the male disciples in his passion narrative is essentially negative and that Luke has even added material to emphasize the apostles' failure, for example, the incident of the swords in Lk. 22.35-38, 49-51.[44] These flawed male disciples serve as narrative and theological foils to the faithful women in Lk. 24. In what follows I will show that I am persuaded by Tannehill's observations.

To state what seems obvious: Luke's references in 23.49 and 23.55 to the women who followed Jesus from Galilee to Jerusalem are flashbacks to Lk. 8.1-3. These women are not only 'witnesses to Jesus' earthly life' but also 'witnesses to Jesus' death'. And I will argue below that in Lk. 24 Luke will add that the women were witnesses of Jesus' empty tomb, that they were understanding recipients of the Easter kerygma and of an appearance of the risen Jesus, and that they were among those commissioned by the risen Lord to be his witnesses (see Acts 1.21-22; 10.41; 13.31).[45]

*Luke 24.1-53*

Before investigating the various components of Luke's masterfully constructed ch. 24, I will make some preliminary comments. First, everything occurs on 'the third day'.[46] Second, Luke has employed one of his favorite devices, parataxis, in putting together various units of tradition.[47] Third, in all but one of the traditions of the Lukan 'third day'

43. See Schaberg, 'Luke', pp. 289-90.

44. Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, I, pp. 262-74.

45. Perhaps it is because Luke describes the women as witnesses that he does not call them 'disciples' here or elsewhere in his gospel. See Ricci, *Maria di Magdala*, pp. 133-207, for an extensive discussion of the question whether the women of Lk. 8.1-3 and 23.4–24.53 were 'disciples'. She says that they were not, because they did not preach.

46. Pheme Perkins, *Resurrection: New Testament Witness and Contemporary Reflection* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984), p. 155. See Lk. 23.54, 56b; 24.1, 6, 13, 21b, 37, 46.

47. On these traditions, see Perkins, *Resurrection*, pp. 149-69, 186-90; Edward L. Bode, *The First Easter Morning: The Gospel Accounts of the Women's Visit to the Tomb of Jesus* (AnBib, 45; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970), pp. 59-71; Jean-Marie Guillaume, *Luc interprète des anciennes traditions sur la résurrection de Jésus* (EBib; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1979); Richard J. Dillon, *From Eye-Witnesses to Ministers of the Word: Tradition and Composition in Luke 24* (AnBib, 82; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978). Again, it must be remembered that when one deals with parataxis, it is the interpreters who fill in the gaps according to their stated or unstated presuppositions.

women play an important role.[48] I move through the various traditions of Lk. 24 with these preliminaries in mind.

*Luke 24.1-12.* The women of Lk. 8.1-3, 23.49-56 are in the center of the stage here and are named in v. 10: Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Mary the mother of James, and the other women with them. The two men in dazzling clothes announce the Easter gospel to these women: 'Why do you seek for the living among the dead? He is not here, but has been raised' (Lk. 24.5).

What follows in Lk. 24.6-8 is peculiar to Luke and is key to Luke's message here: the perplexed women 'remember' the prediction that Jesus made to them while in Galilee that the Son of Man must be handed over to sinners, be crucified, and rise on the third day. According to Maria-Luisa Rigato the verb μιμνήσκεσθαι occurs ten times in Luke–Acts and is always related to God or Jesus.[49] The closest parallel to Lk. 24.6, 8 is Acts 11.16, where Peter, addressing the circumcised believers, concludes his account of his reasons for eating with the non-Jew Cornelius and says: 'And I remembered the word of the Lord, how he said: "John baptized with water, but you will be baptized with the Holy Spirit".' That word of the Lord was spoken in Acts 1.5. A close parallel to Lk. 24.6, 8 is found in the story of Peter's denial. In that story Luke uses the parallel verb ὑπομιμνήσκειν instead of μιμνήσκεσθαι. In Lk. 22.34 Jesus predicts Peter's denial, and in 22.61 Luke writes of Peter: 'Then Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how he had said to him, "Before the cock crows today, you will deny me three times".'

Luke's use of the verb 'to remember' in Lk. 22.61 and Acts 11.16 suggests that in Lk. 24.6, 8 we are not dealing with an ordinary recollection of past events. The remembered word of the Lord helps to transform people, to change their opinions of themselves and of God's ways, and to move along the journey of faith. In Lk. 22.61 Peter's remembered word of the Lord led him on the way to repentance. In Acts 11.16 it led

48. Thus, my organizing principle for the traditions of Lk. 24 is its theme of women. On 'prophecy and fulfillment' as an organizing principle see Luke T. Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke* (Sacra Pagina, 3; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991), p. 390. Dillon (*From Eye-Witnesses*, p. 20) argues that Lk. 24 is organized around words that elucidate unintelligible facts and that the words of Jesus himself in Lk. 24.44-49 are the conclusive elucidation. For an insightful critique of Dillon's word centricism, see Stephen D. Moore, *Mark and Luke in Poststructuralist Perspective: Jesus Begins to Write* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

49. '"Remember... Then They Remembered": Lk. 24.6-8', in Gerald O'Collins and Gilberto Marconi (eds.), *Luke and Acts* (New York: Paulist Press, 1993), pp. 93-102, 232-35, here pp. 94-96 [Reprinted in this volume, pp. 269-80].

him to accept God's drastically new revelation that Gentiles were clean and could become believers in Jesus.[50] Applying these considerations to our passage, I argue that the women of Lk. 24.1-12, through their remembrance of Jesus' words, move from perplexity at the sight of the empty tomb to faith in the Easter kerygma that Jesus has been raised from the dead.

In her article on Lk. 24.6-8 Rigato has also submitted the wording of Jesus' prediction in Lk. 24.7 to a detailed analysis.[51] The results of her research are that the closest literary correspondences to the prediction in Lk. 24.7 are to be found in Lk. 18.31-34 and Lk. 9.22, passages whose audiences are the Twelve and the disciples respectively.[52] Rigato concludes: 'In Luke's view, then, the women belonged to both groups'.[53] If we used narrative analysis to express what Luke is doing in Lk. 24.7, we would say that Luke is making the women present in situations where the reader initially was led to believe they were absent.

When the women go on mission and try to share with 'the Eleven and all the rest' (Lk. 24.9)[54] and 'the apostles' (Lk. 24.10) their Easter insight into the truth of Jesus' prediction of his passion and resurrection, they are met with disbelief. Their words are perceived as 'an idle tale' (Lk. 24.11). In 24.12 Luke adapts another tradition to his thematic of seeing but not seeing: Peter goes to take a look at the empty tomb, but he sees

50. See Perkins, *Resurrection*, p. 155, and Karris, 'The Gospel according to Luke', p. 720, §195, for similar arguments about the significance for faith of the women's remembering in Lk. 24.6, 8

51. Rigato, 'Luke 24.6-8', pp. 97-101. Her analysis is confirmed independently by other studies. See, e.g., Guillaume, *Luc interprète*, pp. 36-38; Bode, *First Easter Morning*, pp. 63-67.

52. Luke does not *tell* that the eyes of the women were opened, but *shows* this by using the verb 'remember' and by having the women go on mission to the other members of their band. Thus, they continue the διακονεῖν of which Luke spoke in 8.3. For a contrary view, see Dillon, *From Eye-Witnesses*, pp. 51-52.

53. 'Luke 24.6-8', p. 101.

54. In 24.33 Luke uses 'the Eleven and those with them'. It is debated whether women were present in this group. Perkins, *Resurrection*, p. 167, maintains that women were included in the group of 'all the rest' (24.9) or 'those with them' (24.33). See also Rigato, 'Luke 24.6-8', p. 102; Dillon, *From Eye-Witnesses*, pp. 8-9, 291-96; Ernst Nellessen, *Zeugnis für Jesus und das Wort: Exegetische Untersuchungen zum lukanischen Zeugnisbegriff* (BBB, 43; Cologne: Hanstein, 1976), pp. 177, 197, 209-11. Cf. Joseph Plevnik, '"The Eleven and Those with Them" according to Luke', *CBQ* 40 (1978), pp. 205-11, who is guided by the interpretive principle that Luke is mentioning in advance a group from which a new member of the Twelve can be selected. On p. 210, n. 19 he mentions the women of Lk. 8.1-3; 23.49, 55; 24.10.

nothing (Lk. 24.12). His rehabilitation and his gift of Easter faith are still in the future.

In sum, the women who have been dispersed 'from the group' (Lk. 24.22) now gather themselves back into it. They have moved from perplexity to faith. It remains to be seen whether and how Luke will describe others of the group moving from perplexity or disbelief to faith.

*Luke 24.13-35*.[55] In this tradition two members of the group are dispersed from Jerusalem and 'on the third day' are journeying to Emmaus. As this disbelieving duet joins up with a stranger, who is Jesus, Luke takes them through their theological paces with brilliant irony. First, in 24.19 Luke has them recite creedal statements about Jesus which are paralleled in Acts 2.22-24 and 10.38: Jesus is a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people. Second, in 24.20-21 Luke makes them repeat the substance of Jesus' thrice-given prophecy of his passion and resurrection 'on the third day' (see Lk. 9.22; 13.32-33; 18.31-33). Third, on a level with the previous two christological statements there comes the travelers' account of what the women from their group had seen (Lk. 24.22-23) and of what their message was: Jesus is alive. Put another way: Luke, in and through his irony in 24.22-23, is equating the women's confession with the community's christological creed and with Jesus' self-revelation of his resurrection after an ignominious death. Finally, Luke concludes his theological irony by having the couple say that others from their group, who had gone to the tomb, found it just as the women had said but did not see Jesus.

As the story continues, our couple's closed eyes (see Lk. 24.16) become open eyes (Lk. 24.31). Like the women's story, theirs is one of moving from disbelief to the light of faith. And Jesus, the interpreter of the scriptures about himself and the host at their meal, is the cause of their illumination.

As the couple, who had separated themselves from the group, gather themselves back to 'the Eleven and those with them' (Lk. 24.33), they are greeted with the announcement: 'The Lord has truly been raised and has appeared to Simon' (Lk. 24.34). No appearance story follows upon this brief Lukan tradition.[56] In this announcement we also learn that Peter,

55. See Robert J. Karris, 'Luke 24.13-35', *Int* 41 (1987), pp. 57-61.

56. It is perhaps an overinterpretation of the narrative function of Lk. 24.34 to see in it Luke's creedal criterion by which all other appearances of the risen Lord in Luke–Acts are to be measured, e.g., those to women. For such a view, see Joachim Wanke, *Die Emmauserzählung: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Lk 24, 13-35* (Erfurter theologische Schriften, 8; Leipzig: St Benno, 1973), p. 115. It also seems an overinterpretation to read Lk. 24.34 to mean that a scattered community now rallies

who had no sight in the earlier account of what happened 'on the third day' (24.12), now sees.

As we conclude our brief remarks about Lk. 24.13-35, we note that the Emmaus couple and Peter have joined the women as people from 'our group' who have moved from perplexity to faith.

*Luke 24.36-53.* Our discussion of Luke's final resurrection tradition in Lk. 24 will be limited to a few points. In the discussion of Lk. 24.1-12 above it was noted that there is some debate over the referents of 'the Eleven and all the rest' (Lk. 24.9) and 'the Eleven and those with them' (Lk. 24.33). Are we dealing with just men or with men and women? We will let C.F. Evans, a distinguished Lukan scholar, have the final word. Concerning Lk. 24.9, Evans writes: '*the rest* is a loose term for an unspecified number of men and women, presumably Galilean disciples'.[57] These men and women will have their minds opened by the risen Lord Jesus' interpretation of all of Scripture (Lk. 24.44-45), and they, too, will move from doubt (Lk. 24.41) to belief.

In Lk. 24.41-43 Jesus eats a piece of broiled fish in the presence of the group of men and women gathered on the Lukan 'third day'. Surely, there is an apologetic motif in this passage, but also present is an indication that Jesus has resumed table fellowship. Accepting the opinion of Richard Dillon,[58] Joseph A. Fitzmyer writes: 'We are not told that they were at table, but that is the gist of the story, for later in Acts we learn that the risen Christ did "eat with" his apostles (Acts 1.4; 10.41)'.[59] In the penultimate description of Jesus at a meal in Luke's gospel those who were with him did not distinguish themselves by their good behavior.[60] In Lk. 24.41-43 might there be just a hint of reconciliation between Jesus and the men and women around him, those who were also present at their Last Supper with him?

together on the basis of the announcement of the risen Lord's appearance to Simon. For such a view, see Dillon, *From Eye-Witnesses*, pp. 97-99. Rather, in Lk. 24.34 we see the initial realization of Jesus' prayer for the rehabilitation of Peter's faith (Lk. 22.31-32). It will be first in Acts 1–2 that Peter, gifted by the Spirit, will complete his strengthening of his brethren.

57. C.F. Evans, *Saint Luke* (TPINT Commentaries; London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity, 1990), p. 897.

58. Dillon, *From Eye-Witnesses*, pp. 197-203.

59. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke X–XXIV: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB, 28A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), p. 1574.

60. See Paul S. Minear, 'Some Glimpses of Luke's Sacramental Theology', *Worship* 44 (1970), pp. 322-31, esp. pp. 326-30, where Minear argues that Lk. 22.14-38 presents Jesus among transgressors.

Since Jesus' farewell supper (Lk. 22.14-38) was just mentioned above, it may be helpful here to recall that on that occasion Jesus gave a farewell discourse. In a recent work Mikeal C. Parsons has called scholarly attention to Luke's scene of Jesus' blessing his own and departing from them (Lk. 24.50-53); he argues that this scene is Luke's conclusion to the farewell discourse which he commenced in his account of Jesus' Last Supper (Lk. 22.14-38):

> By delaying the concluding elements [of the biblical farewell address] to this point in the narrative, Luke is able to tie the entire passion, resurrection, and departure of Jesus into an inclusio introduced by the farewell address of Luke 22 and concluded by the departure of Jesus in the pattern of a departing hero in Luke 24.[61]

If one accepts Parsons's analysis, it seems that the stage is set to investigate whether Lk. 24.36-49 might be seen as Jesus' last words to the men and women of his company before his departure and final blessing. In any case, if Parsons's analysis is correct, that means that men and women were present for Jesus' conclusion to his farewell discourse (Lk. 24.50-53). Were Jesus' men and women absent, then, from the first part of Jesus' farewell discourse?

A few words on Lk. 24.48 ('You are witnesses of these things') will conclude our study of Lk. 23.49–24.53. If it is true that men and women are present in the final resurrection tradition, which Luke incorporates into the twenty-fourth chapter of his gospel, what does it mean to say that women are 'witnesses'? Recent studies have challenged—and, hopefully, will help dispel—the myth that women in Jewish society could not be witnesses. Let me quote extensively from Judith Romney Wegner's study of the status of women in the Mishnah:

> Women normally cannot testify... However, the Mishnah's framers make exceptions to this rule. Thus, in cases involving virginity, where no independent corroboration exists, the sages let women testify because the matter is peculiarly within their knowledge. Likewise, where a woman is the sole witness to a man's death, she may testify in order to free the man's widow (possibly herself) for remarriage. Again, in some property cases, a woman can be asked to swear that she has not embezzled goods entrusted to her or received payment of money she claims as her due. In accepting a woman's testimony or making her swear an oath, the sages implicitly equate her with a man, for they assume she possesses similar qualities of rational thought and moral choice—two important qualities of personhood.

61. Mikeal C. Parsons, *The Departure of Jesus in Luke–Acts: The Ascension Narratives in Context* (JSNTSup, 21; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), p. 58. It should be noted that Parsons does not take much cognizance of the presence and function of women in the repetitions he sees in Lk. 24 and Acts 1.

> Again, in deciding whether to demand corroboration of a woman's testimony or when to make her swear an oath, the Mishnah's framers use precisely the same criteria they would apply to a man.[62]

Wegner's research makes it fairly clear that one cannot simply repeat the old saw that women could not testify or be witnesses in Jewish society.

Wegner's research also helps us answer a question whether a Jewish woman, who was largely confined to the domestic scene, could testify in the public sphere, which was male-dominated. Her answer is that it is false to equate domestic with private: 'Women in the mishnaic system could legally conduct such extradomestic activities as commercial transactions and legal claims and yet remain excluded from the public domain because the implementation of such powers does not constitute performance of a public act'.[63] Thus, whereas the women of Lk. 24 might not be able to testify in the public forum as Luke depicts Peter doing in Acts 2, they surely could do so in other nonpublic, extradomestic contexts.[64]

In summary, recent studies on Lk. 23.49–24.53 may also have much to contribute to our perception of what Luke has to say positively about women.

## *Conclusion*

In my review of some of the recent research on Lk. 8.1-3, 22.14-38, and 23.49–24.53, I have been persuaded that Luke may have used his own

62. Judith Romney Wegner, *Chattel or Person? The Status of Women in the Mishnah* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 120-21. See also Moshe Meiselman, *Jewish Women in Jewish Law* (Library of Jewish Law and Ethics, 6; New York: KTAV/Yeshiva University, 1978), pp. 73-80.

63. Wegner, *Chattel or Person?*, p. 189.

64. I appeal to Lk. 18.1-8 as evidence that it is methodologically legitimate to use mishnaic evidence to interpret Luke–Acts, which was written some 100 years earlier than the codified Mishnah. The widow is not confined to her domestic realm and is probably bringing a lawsuit about property. In Wegner's terms this widow is 'the autonomous woman'. In Luke's parable she may be fictional, but Luke has drawn upon actual circumstances to paint his picture of verisimilitude. The data from Wegner and from Luke himself seem to me to be more reliable than the testimony of Josephus, whose statement in his *Ant.* 4.8.15 §219 is frequently quoted: 'Put not trust in a single witness, but let there be three or at least two whose evidence shall be accredited by their past lives. From women let no evidence be accepted, because of the levity and temerity of their sex'. For an evaluation of Josephus' generally negative view of women, see Cheryl Anne Brown, *No Longer Be Silent: First Century Jewish Portraits of Biblical Women, Studies in Pseudo-Philo's* Biblical Antiquities *and Josephus's* Jewish Antiquities (Gender and the Biblical Tradition; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992).

literary tools to narrate a more positive view of women than we had previously thought. This research and reactions to it may intensify, rather than dissipate, the storm clouds which attend the question of Luke's view of women.

An appeal for action is almost a literary form for the conclusion of an article on Luke's view of women. As we might expect from the Forschungsberichte of this article, this appeal normally expresses itself in one of two ways: (1) since Jesus had women disciples, change ecclesiastical policy about women's status in the church; or (2) read Luke with utmost caution, for his goal is to control women leaders.

I do not shun this literary form. This is my appeal to those of us involved in the new 'storm center' of Luke–Acts: Do not put on the shelf of adulation or disdain the author of Luke–Acts, who may puzzle us with his means of conveying his inclusive gospel—parataxis, repetition, inconsistency, summary, and flashback. Remember, too, that it is not the Lukan text which has changed over the years, but it is we, its interpreters, who have changed, who will change, and who should change as new times and new methods challenge us to 're-vision' our look at Luke's view of women. In the words of Carla Ricci, '*camminando s'apre cammino*'[65] 'We blaze the trail by journeying'.[66]

65. Ricci, *Maria di Magdala*, p. 209, quoting from Arturo Paoli.

66. In the composition of this article, I am grateful to the following for support: Hermann Schalück and the other members of the General Council of the Order of Friars Minor in Rome; the Franciscan School of Theology, Berkeley, CA; the library staff, Thomas Nairn, and Carolyn Osiek of the Catholic Theological Union at Chicago.

# THE ANHP QUESTION IN LUKE-ACTS: IMPERIAL MASCULINITY AND THE DEPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN THE EARLY SECOND CENTURY*

Mary Rose D'Angelo

An essay on masculinity in a feminist companion to the New Testament may appear out of place. But gender is constructed largely by the comparison and contrast of male and female. To allow one side of the contrast to evade scrutiny is to allow at least some aspects of its 'other' to remain uninterrogated. Even at the beginning of the twenty-first century, masculinity retains the invisibility of the norm: the paradigmatic human being is usually assumed to be male. Women must be mentioned explicitly to be present at all. The issue is even more acute in attempts to analyze gender in ancient literature. Depictions of women in ancient narrative may actually be more instructive about the construction of masculinity than about the lives of ancient women. In her treatment of women in Greek civic and Christian novels of antiquity, Kate Cooper suggests the profitability of assuming 'for the sake of argument that wherever a woman is mentioned a man's character is being judged—and along with it what he stands for...'[1] Conversely, turning directly to assertions of masculinity in texts offers an important check on the process of analyzing representations of ancient women and drawing conclusions about the lives of 'real' women in antiquity.

Attention to gender is far more explicit in the Gospel of Luke than in the other canonical gospels. The multiplication of stories about women in this gospel is both striking and widely noted; some interpreters

* A first version of this essay was delivered in a session of the Ideological Criticism Section of the Society of Biblical Literature Boston, in 1999; research and writing were completed with the support of a Henry Luce III Fellowship in Theology, and of the University of Notre Dame. All translations are my own unless otherwise identified.

1. Kate Cooper, *The Virgin and The Bride: Idealized Womanhood in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 19.

postulate a woman author.[2] But 'more women' is only part of the picture of gender in Luke–Acts. The complexities of the treatment of women in this work have attracted the attention of a number of feminist scholars, including myself.[3] While Luke–Acts does supply more stories about women than Mark and Q combined, these nearly always appear paired with stories about men, either in the immediate context or in the larger structure of the gospel. The stories about women are frequently shorter, and the women are rarely allowed to speak in direct discourse. In certain sensitive contexts men are added to some Markan stories about women:

2. See Constance F. Parvey, 'The Theology and Leadership of Women in the New Testament', in Rosemary Radford Ruether (ed.), *Religion and Sexism: Images of Women in the Jewish and Christian Traditions* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1974), pp. 117-29; Eugene H. Maly, 'Women and the Gospel of Luke', *BTB* 10 (1980), pp. 99-104, and the literature cited there. Also Celeste J. Rossmiller, 'Prophets and Disciples in Luke's Infancy Narrative', *Bible Today* 22/6 (1984), pp. 361-65; Rosalie Ryan, 'The Women from Galilee and Discipleship in Luke', *BTB* 15 (1985), pp. 56-59; Quentin Quesnell, 'The Women at Luke's Supper', in R.J. Cassidy and P.J. Scharper (eds.), *Political Issues in Luke–Acts* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1983), pp. 59-79; E. Jane Via, 'Women, the Discipleship of Service and the Early Christian Ritual Meal in the Gospel of Luke', *St. Luke's Journal of Theology* 29 (1985), pp. 37-60; *eadem*, 'Women in the Gospel of Luke', in Ursula King (ed.), *Women in the World's Religions: Past and Present* (New York: Paragon, 1987), pp. 38-55. For suggestions that the author was a woman, see Via, 'Women in the Gospel of Luke', pp. 49-50, nn. 37-40.

3. Mary Rose D'Angelo, 'Women in Luke–Acts: A Redactional View', *JBL* 109 (1990), pp. 441-61. See also *eadem*, '(Re)Presentations of Women in the Gospel of Matthew and Luke–Acts', in Ross Shepard Kraemer and Mary Rose D'Angelo (eds.), *Women and Christian Origins* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 171-95. A similar reading of the issue was developed almost simultaneously by Turid Karlsen Seim in *The Double Message: Patterns of Gender in Luke and Acts* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994), and *eadem*, 'The Gospel of Luke' in Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (ed.), *Searching the Scriptures.* II. *A Feminist Commentary* (New York: Crossroad, 1994), pp. 728-762. For earlier critical views of Luke, see Elizabeth Tetlow, *Women and Ministry in the New Testament* (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), p. 101; Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, 'Word, Power and Spirit: Women in the Early Christian Communities', in Rosemary Radford Ruether and Eleanor Commo McLaughlin (eds.), *Women of Spirit* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979), pp. 31-70, esp. p. 52 n. 114; *eadem*, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1983), p. 161; *eadem*, 'A Feminist Critical Interpretation for Liberation: Martha and Mary (Luke 10.38-42)', *Religion and Intellectual Life* 3 (1986), pp. 16-36. For other recent and sophisticated studies of women in Luke and Acts, see Clarice Martin, 'The Acts of the Apostles', in Fiorenza (ed.), *Searching the Scriptures*, II, pp. 763-99, and Ivoni Richter Reimer, *Women in the Acts of the Apostles: A Feminist Liberation Perspective* (trans. Linda M. Maloney; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995); Barbara E. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part? Women in the Gospel of Luke* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1996). Reid supplies a comprehensive bibliography.

Jesus' death is watched by 'all his acquaintances' (Lk. 23.49) as well as by the women who appear in Mk 15.40-41. Not only the women, but also Simon Peter visit the tomb (Lk. 24.12), and their message is first disbelieved, then superseded by the visions of the two disciples (24.13-35), Simon (24.34), and the Twelve and those with them (24.36-53; perhaps including the women, 24.10). Thus, despite the many respects in which the work shares the world of the ancient novels, it lacks precisely the focus that inspired Cooper's investigation: there is no heroine, no 'female point of identification'.[4]

In the process of exploring the ambiguities of Luke's deployment of women, I became aware that Luke–Acts also is far more interested in maleness or masculinity than other early Christian texts. The word ἀνήρ (man as male, husband, hero) is used frequently in Luke–Acts (and rarely elsewhere in the New Testament), where it refers to unnamed individuals, to angelic beings and apparitions, to Jesus and to crowds in Acts, and as a formal address. Finally, those who suggest that the author of this work was a woman must deal with the preface, in which the author's (or narrator's) voice uses the masculine participle in a self-reference (παρηκολουθηκότι, Lk. 1.3) and therefore at least assumes a male persona.[5]

This essay revisits and expands my earlier observations on the use of ἀνήρ and other assertions of masculinity in Luke–Acts. There I argued that the stress on masculinity and the depictions of women in Luke–Acts result at least in part from the public character of the work, from the author's concern to show that 'these things were not being done in a corner' (Acts 26.26) by presenting the drama of the Christian beginnings on a world—and therefore an imperial—stage.[6] The apologetic of Acts is primarily internally directed, intended to ground the faith of those who have been instructed in the Christian message (1.4), rather than to serve as a defense brief addressed to the emperor or other Roman officials.[7] At

4. Cooper, *The Virgin and the Bride*; D'Angelo, 'Women in Luke–Acts', pp. 456-57; Richard I. Pervo, *Profit with Delight: The Literary Genre of the Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987); Steven P. Schierling and Marla J. Schierling, 'The Influence of the Ancient Romances on the *Acts of the Apostles*', *The Classical Bulletin* 54 (1978), pp. 81-88; Rosa Söder, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und romanhafte Literatur der Antike* (Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft, 3; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1969).

5. D'Angelo, 'Women in Luke–Acts', p. 443.

6. D'Angelo, 'Women in Luke–Acts', p. 443.

7. On the apologetic of Acts as inward-directed and asserting in some way the compatibility of the Christians with the Roman Empire, see variously Paul W. Walaskay, *'And So We Came to Rome': The Political Perspective of Luke–Acts* (SNTSMS,

the same time, it is meant to be accessible to the right-thinking imperial outsider, of whom the Ethiopian eunuch of Acts 8 provides a particularly elite example.[8]

The apologetic claims made by Luke–Acts are complex. Acts 16.20-21 articulates the charge that Paul and his companions are 'Jews who preach customs that it is unlawful for us Romans to accept or practice'. On the contrary, the narrative argues, the community and especially its preachers include Roman citizens who are of the highest calibre, who practise the financial probity and family values that the imperial order preaches with dubious effect. In so doing, they embody and carry forward the ancient truths of Judaism without the revolutionary tendencies and noxious particularism that constitute a threat to the imperial order.[9] The sexual politics of Luke–Acts is essential to this apologetic on both theological and political levels. This text displays the rightness of the Christians' gender arrangements as an argument for moral and religious probity. In so doing, it responds to the reassertion of the Augustan family-values campaign in the very late first and early second century, that is, during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian.[10]

This date is at the later end of the range usually cited for Luke–Acts and requires some explanation.[11] The apologetic I describe above makes the most sense after the establishment of the Roman policy on Christians attested in the exchange between Pliny and Trajan. Christians were not ordinarily sought out by the government, but once they were arrested or

49; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); David L. Barr and Judith Wentling, 'Classical Biography and Luke–Acts', in Charles H. Talbert (ed.), *Luke–Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar* (New York: Crossroad, 1984), pp. 63-88, here p. 75; Robert Brawley, 'Paul in Acts: Lucan Apology and Conciliation', also in Talbert (ed.), *New Perspectives*, pp. 129-47; D'Angelo, 'Women in Luke–Acts', pp. 451-60; Lawrence M. Wills, 'The Depiction of the Jews in Acts', *JBL* 110 (1991), pp. 651-54; Gregory E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephus, Luke–Acts and Apologetic Historiography* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), pp. 379-86.

8. Brant James Pitre has collected the evidence for association of eunuchs with elite status: 'Marginal Elites: Matthew 19.12 and the Social and Political Dimension of Becoming Eunuchs for the Kingdom of God' (paper presented at SBL in Boston, 1999).

9. For Luke's presentation of the Jews in Acts as a disorderly mob, see Wills, 'Depiction of the Jews', pp. 631-54.

10. For differing arguments or for indications of a similar date for Luke–Acts, see J.C. O'Neill, *The Theology of Acts in its Historical Setting* (London: SPCK, 2nd edn, 1970), pp. 1-58; John Townsend, 'The Date of Luke–Acts', in Talbert (ed.), *Luke–Acts*, pp. 47-62; Wills, 'Depiction of the Jews', p. 653.

11. E.g., Helmut Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament*. II. *History and Literature of Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), p. 310; on attestation; *idem*, *Ancient Christian Gospels* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990), pp. 332-36.

denounced they were forced to choose between a recantation and execution.[12] The contradictions of this policy both suggested that the emperor was open to persuasion and made apology an urgent necessity. They thus created the context for 1 and 2 Timothy, 1 Peter, and Ignatius of Antioch, as well as inviting the development of apology from the mid-second through the mid-third century.[13] Other literary features of the work link it to the context of the romances and the Second Sophistic and also suggest a date in the early second century.[14]

## ΑΝΗΡ *in Luke–Acts*

Perhaps the feature easiest to explore is the ἀνήρ question itself: where and why does this word occur in the text of Luke–Acts? But some preliminary cautions are required. First, the use of ἀνήρ is by no means obtrusive in Luke's text; translation renders it virtually invisible. Second, although it is generally true to say that ἀνήρ is used of man in contrast to woman, while ἄνθρωπος is used of the human in contrast to the divine, the words ἀνήρ and ἄνθρωπος can also be used interchangeably in Greek and are so used in Luke–Acts itself (e.g., the alternation of the terms in Lk. 8.27-40 and Acts 21-23). Third, a choice between ἀνήρ and ἄνθρωπος is indicative of habits of diction, of preferences, rather than of highly deliberate selections. These observations do not make the appearance of the word less significant, but they do make conclusions more complex and less certain.

While ἀνήρ is hardly an unusual word, it is not frequent in the New Testament and it often refers to a husband or male sexual partner. Luke's sources for the gospel use ἄνθρωπος almost exclusively. In Mark, ἀνήρ occurs four times only, twice in the divorce debate (10.2-12), once in the count of five thousand men (ἄνδρες) in the first feeding narrative (6.44),[15] and once to describe John the Baptist as 'a just and holy man' (ἀνὴρ δίκαιος καὶ ἅγιος, 6.20).[16] The latter two occur in stories that are essentially adjacent and may have been carried over from Mark's source. As far as can be ascertained, Q uses the word once only, to refer to the

12. Pliny, *Letters* 10.96-97.

13. See also D'Angelo, 'Women in Luke–Acts', p. 450.

14. These indicators are at best suggestive; the time span from Vespasian to Hadrian is too short and the literary remains of these periods too limited to make it possible to pinpoint developments with precision.

15. Also Jn 6.10, and (following Mk 6.44) Mt. 14.21; 15.38; Lk. 9.14.

16. They have in common a meal setting (which in some Greek settings assumes the separation of women and men) and prophetic context.

Ninevites (ἄνδρες Νινευῖται; Mt. 12.41//Lk. 11.32).[17] By contrast, Luke uses ἀνήρ some 27 times; Acts around twice that. Perhaps six of these uses designate a husband or partner.[18] The author introduces ἀνήρ into Markan contexts[19] and Q material,[20] and the word appears in special Lukan material[21] as well as throughout Acts.

The author's stylistic preference is probably indicated by the difference between Luke and Acts; ἀνήρ is about twice as frequent as ἄνθρωπος in Acts; the reverse is the case in the gospel, whose style is influenced by its sources.[22] This preference for ἀνήρ is probably dictated in part by literary and stylistic concerns. It is one element of the author's more sophisticated Greek diction, and at the same time it helps to evoke the diction and tone of the Septuagint. In particular, the LXX version of the Deuteronomic history, which seems to have provided a model for a number of theological and literary aspects of Luke-Acts, uses the term ἀνήρ more than any other group of Septuagint books and noticeably more frequently than ἄνθρωπος.[23] The use of 'man' (ἀνήρ) in reports of apparitions (Lk. 9.30-32; 24.4; Acts 1.10; 10.30; 16.9) and of 'a man, a prophet' (ἀνὴρ προφήτης) to characterize Jesus (Lk. 24.19) appears to have been influenced by the language of the version of the LXX Deuteronomic history.[24] Also showing Deuteronomic concerns are the two stories in which ἀνήρ appears in Mark: the death of the Baptist pits heroic prophet against corrupt ruler (Lk. 6.14-29), and the feeding narrative depicts Jesus as the prophet like Moses (Lk. 6.32-44).

These observations lead to another caution: ἀνήρ is too common in Luke-Acts, and its ramifications too diverse and complex, for any single treatment to present itself as either exhaustive or definitive. In what

17. If there were a divorce saying in Q, it seems not to have used the word; it appears in Lk. 16.18 but the parallels to it are in Mk 10.11-12 rather than Mt. 5.31-32.

18. Lk. 1.27, 34; 2.36; 16.18; Acts 5.9, 10.

19. Lk. 5.8 (ἀνήρ ἁμαρτωλός); 5.12 (ἀνὴρ λεπρός); 5.18 (men carrying paralytic); 6.8 (man with withered hand); 8.27 (ἀνήρ τις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔχων δαιμόνια) also 8.38, 41 (Jairus); 9.30, 32 (Moses and Elijah); 9.38 (man in crowd); 22.63 (men—soldiers? who held Jesus); 23.50 (Joseph), including ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος; 24.4 ('men' = angels).

20. Lk. 7.20 (disciples of John); 11.31 (extrapolated from 11.32); 14.24 (the banqueters).

21. Lk. 5.8; 17.12; 19.2, 7; 24.19.

22. H.J. Cadbury also concludes that Luke 'likes' the word, but on the basis of comparison with the other gospels; *The Style and Literary Method of Luke* (HTS, 6; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920), p. 191.

23. D'Angelo, *Women in Luke-Acts*, p. 451.

24. D'Angelo, *Women in Luke-Acts*, pp. 449-50.

follows, I consider not only some of the functions of this word but also other assertions and indicators of masculinity in the gospel and Acts.

*Masculinity as Qualification for Apostolic Role*

The single point at which the significance of masculinity in Luke–Acts has been most frequently remarked is probably Luke's explicit specification of maleness as a criterion for the Twelve (Acts 1.21). While Mk 3.12-19 lists 12 male names as Jesus' chosen companions, Luke–Acts goes well beyond this: not only naming them and describing their selection from among the disciples, but also explicitly designating them as 'apostles' (Lk. 6.12-19).[25] Luke 9.1-6 associates them with Jesus' ministry. Despite the appointment of the 70 further missionaries in Lk. 10.1, Luke–Acts uses the word 'apostle' almost exclusively for the Twelve. Acts 1.21 further limits candidates for the Twelve to men (ἀνδρῶν) who participated in the mission of Jesus from the baptism of John until the ascension. The masculinity of the seven appointed in Acts 6 is also stressed.[26] Stephen in particular is described in heroic terms as endowed with spiritual power,[27] as are Paul, Barnabas, and Apollos.[28]

By contrast, the roles of women disciples are carefully limited. Luke 8.1-3 introduces the women well ahead of their appearance at the cross in Mark (15.40-41) in what appears to be a disciple list parallel to the list of the 12 masculine names in Lk. 6.14-16. The women are described as 'ministering' by supporting the men from their resources, and the relatively elevated social status of one of their number is noted. Thus they are located in the familiar (and influential) role of patronage. Unlike the men, they are not said to have been called as disciples but rather to have come to Jesus as suppliants and remained in his retinue in gratitude for cures. The most famous of them, Mary Magdalene, is explained as having been possessed by seven devils.[29] Thus their patronage is diminished

25. Here I concur with the view that the variants of Mk 3.14 that include the clause 'and he called them apostles' are influenced by Lk. 6.13.

26. 'Men full of spirit and wisdom', ἄνδρας πλήρεις πνεύματος καὶ σοφίας (6.3).

27. 'A man full of faith and the holy spirit', ἄνδρα πλήρης πίστεως καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου (6.5). The grammatical problem has caused some textual disturbance; cf. full of grace and power, πλήρης χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως (6.8, also 6.10; 7.55).

28. See the description of Barnabas as ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ πίσεως (Acts 11.24); also Apollos in Acts 18.23-25. Ananias refers to Paul as ἀνήρ (Acts 9.13); then the narrator describes him as acting powerfully (ἐνεδυναμοῦτο, 9.23).

29. D'Angelo, 'Women in Luke–Acts', p. 452; D'Angelo, 'Reconstructing Real Women from Gospel Literature: The Case of Mary Magdalene', in Kraemer and D'Angelo (eds.), *Women and Christian Origins*, pp. 105-128, esp. 117.

by their status as the beneficiaries of cures; they form a sort of women's auxiliary.[30]

In the body of the gospel and Acts, the word 'woman' is never qualified with such descriptions as 'filled with the holy spirit' or 'mighty in word and work'.[31] Tabitha is described as 'full of good works and alms that she did' (Acts 9.36). The only other characterizations used with γυνή are 'sinful' (ἁμαρτωλός, Lk. 7.37; cf. Simon Peter, Lk. 5.18) or 'respectable' (εὐσχήμων, Acts 17.12).[32] Even so, women are not excluded from all public or semi-public activity; indeed, in some cases, women are allowed roles that are generally, though not exclusively, the province of men. Like the jailer at Philippi, Lydia is treated as head of her own household; it is her conversion that brings about the baptism of the whole household (Acts 16.14-15, cf. 33-34).[33] Her profession and her status as 'pious' or a 'God-fearer' are noted, and she is described as magnanimous, as both a beneficiary of Paul and his benefactor.[34] Nor does the author hesitate to identify Martha (Lk. 10.38) or Mary the mother of John Mark (Acts 12.12) as householders.

Why then are some roles, specifically roles of communal leadership, so clearly marked off for men? There may be a clue in the author's frequent mention of the male gender, the number, and the status of messengers. Luke 7.20 refers to the two emissaries of John as 'the men'; the disciples at Joppa sent two 'men' to Lydda for Peter; likewise the emissaries Cornelius sends for Peter are referred to as 'men' (Acts 10.5, 17, 19, 21, 22; 11.11-12). So too the council of apostles and elders decides to choose two 'men' to accompany Paul and Silas and carry a letter on their behalf (15.25-27). Even the heavenly apparitions designated as 'men' are also messengers, for they are either angels (e.g. Lk. 24.11; Acts 1.10) or prophets (Lk. 9.30). According to Lk. 24.11, the women at the tomb (no

30. D'Angelo, '(Re)Presentations of Women', p. 185; Halvor Moxnes treats the passage as an example of the transformation of patronage to service in Luke–Acts; see his 'Patron–Client Relations and the New Community in Luke–Acts', in Jerome Neyrey (ed.), *The Social World of Luke–Acts* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), pp. 241-68, esp. 263.

31. Elizabeth is the only woman actually described this way (1.41), but like the prophet Anna and Mary's prophetic song, she belongs to the prologue and so is assigned by the author to the era of the Law and the Prophets and distanced from the period of the church. See D'Angelo, 'Women in Luke–Acts', pp. 451-52.

32. See also miracle stories where the words ἀνήρ and γυνή are followed by a description of the disease (e.g. 5.12; 13.11).

33. On Lydia as householder, see Reimer, *Women in the Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 71-149.

34. On Lydia and other women as patrons, see Moxnes, 'Patron–Client Relations', pp. 261-63.

matter how many) are not believed by the disciples. This note does not seek to disparage the women whom the reader/hearers know to be right, but rather defends the community from the charge of easy credulity. It is even possible that both the empty tomb scene itself and the characterizations of the apostles answer the charge that Christians believed the resurrection on the word of a few hysterical women.[35]

Maud Gleason's work on the production of masculinity in Roman antiquity helps to illuminate one important context of the 'men' of Luke–Acts. 'Public speaking', she observes, 'even more than literary writing, was the hallmark of the socially privileged male'.[36] The ability to speak as an advocate on behalf of a client was essential to a patron.[37] Likewise, the elite citizen would transact business with civic bodies and might be sent as ambassador to the emperor to present the case of a city in need of material assistance or desirous of some honorific status. Philo's presence in the embassy to Gaius on behalf of the Jews of Alexandria presents both a comparison and a contrast to the embassies represented in Acts. That embassy speaks to the emperor on behalf of a group with civic pretensions, rather than for a civic assembly. Acts' ambassadors, on the other hand, speak to assemblies (rather than to the emperor)[38] on behalf of both the Christian assembly and the divine ruler they serve. I suggest that the author's careful distinction between the roles of men and women within the community results from the same concern as does the formal address 'men' in Acts: the desire to depict the Christian message and its messengers—the speeches and speakers—as ambassadors suitable for the public and civic forum. The renewed prestige of city assemblies reflected in the novels and the sophisticated contests of the early second century also feature in the contexts of Luke–Acts.[39]

35. See the texts collected by Margaret MacDonald and her evaluation of them in Margaret Y. MacDonald, *Early Christian Women and Pagan Opinion: The Power of the Hysterical Woman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), especially her discussion of Celsus (pp. 104-109). See also Ross S. Kraemer, *Her Share of the Blessings: Women's Religions among Pagans, Christians and Jews in the Greco-Roman World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 128-31.

36. Maud W. Gleason, 'Elite Male Identity in the Roman Empire', in D.S. Potter and D.J. Mattingly (eds.), *Life, Death and Entertainment in the Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), pp. 67-84; also *eadem*, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).

37. Gleason, 'Elite Male Identity', p. 79, and also her summary of the civic roles of Favorinus and Polemo in *Making Men*, p. xxvii.

38. Paul is the exception here; he appears not only before Gentiles, but also before kings (βασιλέων, 9.15): in the narrative, before Agrippa; in prospect, before Caesar (27.24).

39. Cooper, *The Virgin and the Bride*, pp. 23-44; cf. Brigitte Egger, 'Women and

*Manhood and Social Status: Narrator and Addressee*

The kind, or better, the status of the masculinity deployed in Luke–Acts is established by the prologues, which position the narratives as service rendered to the male patron. Theophilus's elite status is in part represented by the epithet κράτιστε, perhaps 'Optimus', the epithet awarded to Trajan by the Senate and connected by Pliny to the title of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (Pliny, *Pan.* 2.7; 88.4).[40] This epithet is used in Acts to address the Roman procurators Felix (23.26; 24.3) and Festus (26.25).[41] Thus, the masculinity inscribed in the prologues is elite not only by the more general criterion of literacy, but also by the criteria of the Roman audience; governors of minor provinces (like Felix and Festus) were drawn from the equestrian rank.[42] The author or narrator is also introduced in the prologue as male (καμοὶ παρηκολουθηκότι, Lk. 1.2). He likewise acquires status from his relationship with his elite patron (however fictive).[43] Together they embark on a carefully scripted quest for the very thing that the Roman officials of Acts search for but cannot attain: surety (τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, Lk. 1.4; cf. Acts 21.34; 22.30; 25.26) about the things accomplished in their midst. And their success is likewise sure: the narrator can rely upon the accounts of 'many others' as well as the assiduous research among the eyewitnesses and guardians of the word (Lk. 1.1-2). His reader is no novice, but has already been instructed (Lk. 1.4).

Theophilus, whether or not he is to be seen as fictive, provides a sort of dramatic, personified *captatio*, which elevates the readers and hearers to the rank of the Roman governors while simultaneously crediting them with privileged knowledge, superior virtue, and greater understanding.

Marriage in the Greek Novels: The Boundaries of Romance', in James Tatum (ed.), *Search for the Ancient Novel* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), pp. 260-80.

40. Also *Letters* 10.1.2; see also Julian Bennett, *Trajan,* Optimus Princeps: *A Life and Times* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), pp. 105-106.

41. Venon K. Robbins, 'The Social Location of the Implied Author of Luke–Acts', in Neyrey (ed.), *Social World,* pp. 304-32, esp. 321. Robbins compares the 'inscribed author' to Josephus, who also presents the events of his narrative to an 'inscribed reader with a Roman name' (p. 314). It should be noted, however, that neither Theophilus nor Epaphroditus is strictly speaking a Roman name; both names are actually Greek, though either could be used as a cognomen with a real Roman name, a *gentilicium,* as is the case with Flavius Josephus.

42. Catherine Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 13-15.

43. Robbins notes that the 'inscribed author' places himself in a subordinate position to the 'inscribed reader' ('Social Location', p. 322), but this observation does not exclude the narrator's acquisition of status from their relationship.

This is not to say that the author expects only male readers any more than Paul's exclusive address to Agrippa precludes the presence of Berenike (Acts 26.2, 19, cf. 25.23; 26.30). Nor is it the case that the text allows only for instructed Christians as readers. Of all the early Christian texts, Luke–Acts seems most accessible to the esoteric reader of antiquity, and indeed it offers the portrait of a literal reader who is both exotic and elite in the person of the Ethiopian eunuch (ἀνὴρ Αἰθίοψ εὐνοῦχος δυνάστης, Acts 8.27). Rather, the position offered the reader is that of an elite, male Christian—elite within Roman imperial society and informed as a Christian.

*'Men'* (ἄνδρες) *as a Civic Address in an Imperial Setting*

That the practice of addressing crowds is in part formed by Greek civic practice is manifested by Paul's use of 'Men, Athenians' (ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι) to open the speech on the Areopagus (Acts 17.22). In the context of Acts 17, it is difficult to avoid recalling that the same address functions very nearly as a refrain throughout Plato's *Apology* (17a, b; 18a, e; 21e; 22a; 24a, c; 26a, etc.). A more apt parallel to the position of Paul in Athens and to the opening verses of the speech may be Aelius Aristides's *To Rome*, in which the orator presents himself as a traveler praising the sights he encounters and addresses his words to 'ἄνδρες who dwell in this city'. Later in Acts, when the γραμματεύς (scribe) of Ephesus wishes to change the crowd in the theater from an unruly mob to a civic assembly that can be dismissed in an orderly fashion, he calls upon them as 'men, Ephesians' (ἄνδρες Ἐφέσιοι, 19.35), an address that also appears in a defense speech in Achilles Tatius's *Leukippe and Kleitophon* (7.9). Like the Greek travel novels (though without the touristic interest of some), Luke–Acts uses the city settings to connect the narrative to the real world, using famous sites or characteristics of the physical city as a backdrop.[44] These addresses similarly function to place the narrative on a civic and world stage, but by deploying the specific social practices of civic life from some of the more famous cities.[45]

The analogy of Greek civic practice offers only a partial account of the function of these addresses in Acts, for ἄνδρες appears most frequently in addresses to assemblies of Jews, where it acquires nuance from a variety of phrases in the LXX.[46] The clearest example is Acts 2.14: 'men,

44. See Suzanne Said, 'The City in the Greek Novel', in Tatum (ed.), *Search for the Ancient Novel*, pp. 216-36.

45. For a similar suggestion about the names of Dionysios and Damaris, see David Gill, 'Dionysios and Damaris: A Note on Acts 17.34', *CBQ* 61 (1999), pp. 483-90.

46. Stanley Porter, *The Paul of Acts: Essays in Literary Criticism, Rhetoric and Theology* (WUNT, 115; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), pp. 132-34.

Jews [or Judeans] and all dwellers in Jerusalem' (ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἰερουσαλὴμ πάντες).[47] This address is almost certainly informed by a nearly identical phrase which occurs in Jeremiah ('men of Judah and dwellers in Jerusalem'; ἄνδρες Ἰουδα καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἰερουσαλὴμ πάντες; Jer. 4.34; 17.25; 19.3; 39.32 [LXX]; Jer. 32.32 [MT]). In two of Jeremiah's five instances it functions as an address. In all contexts except 17.25, the phrase characterizes those responsible for the disaster. Thus its appearance in Acts sounds a warning note, preparing the reader for the accusation Peter makes in Acts 2.23-24, and indeed for the speedy rejection of his message.

In the same speech, Peter addresses the crowd as 'men, Israelites' (ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, Acts 2.22; see also Acts 3.12; 5.35; 13.16; differently in 21.28), and later as 'men, brethren' (ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί). In their first, receptive response, they return this last address (Acts 2.37). In fact ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί is the most frequently used of these addresses in Acts.[48] This phrase can be directed to the disciples (1.16) whom the angels address as 'men, Galileans' (ἄνδρες Γαλιλαῖοι, 1.11), to the 'Judeans and dwellers in Jerusalem' (2.14) and to assemblies of Jews in the diaspora. 'Fathers' (πατέρες) is added to it for Stephen's speech to the Sanhedrin and Paul's speech to the assembly in the Temple; this seems to make an analogy between the members of the Sanhedrin and Roman senators, usually addressed as *patres conscripti*.[49] I have found the address ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί only once in the LXX; *4 Macc.* 8.19 places it in the anti-speech that articulates the response that the martyrs would have made had they been cowardly and unmanly (ἄνανδροι). Perhaps the writer conceives of it as typically Greek.

In Acts, the use of ἄνδρες as a formal address seems to be an attempt to call upon the moral resources of the audience. Josephus presents Eliezer the Zealot as addressing the defenders of Masada as 'good men' (ἄνδρες ἀγαθοῖς) in his attempt to persuade them to suicide (Josephus, *War* 7.323). On their first refusal, he shames them with the complaint that he had thought he was addressing 'good men' (ἀνδράσι ἀγαθοῖς, *War* 7.341).[50] The address requires them to display their moral rectitude as

47. The geographical characterizations may be influenced by phrases such as ἄνδρες Χαλδαῖοι (Dan. 3.8 [LXX]), ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι (3.12), which are not addresses.

48. Peter uses ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί to address believers before the crowd at Pentecost (Acts 1.16; 2.29, 37) then *passim*: 7.2, 26 (a sort of exegesis of the phrase placed in the mouth of Moses), and 13.15, 26, 38; 15.7, 13; 22.1; 23.1, 6; 28.17.

49. Livy explains the practice as having originated as *patres et conscripti* when the Senate was expanded at the beginning of the Republic; *History of Rome* 2.1.10-11.

50. Thackeray translates the phrase as 'brave men', *Josephus III: The Jewish War*

well as their valor and their self-respect by refusing to brook enslavement. Similarly, Paul rebukes the Lystrians who attempt to worship him and Barnabas as ἄνδρες (Acts 14.15). On the perilous journey to Rome he employs this address to his hard-pressed shipmates, first warning them of the dangers to come (Acts 27.10), then marshaling their courage (Acts 27.21, 24).[51] This function of the address does not mean that Luke–Acts applies ἀνήρ only to men who are approved; on the contrary, ambiguous or even evil figures are often introduced and characterized with ἀνήρ and a modifier or appositive.[52]

Thus the author of Luke–Acts has appropriated a standard Greek civic address, one that Jewish writers had already adopted and modified, and has endowed it with biblical overtones that make it a suitable vehicle both for conveying the public character of the Christian mission and for asserting its continuity with Jewish heritage, denominating the 'straight ways of the Lord' (Acts 13.10, cf. 24.14). While also offering some scope to local color, it asserts the *dignitas* of speaker and addressees, placing them on both the civic and the imperial stage as true ambassadors and depicting the solemn civic assembly that can—or at least should be able to—give their embassy an appropriate hearing.

### *More Roman than Thou*

In their study of masculinity in *4 Maccabees*, Stephen Moore and Janice Capel Anderson identify masculinity with self-mastery, ἐγκράτεια, and underline the apologetic that presents 'weak' figures (an old man, young boys, a loving mother) who are guided by 'pious reasoning' (εὐσεβὴς λογισμός) as heroes of manly courage (ἀνδρεία).[53] These paradoxical exemplars display self-mastery that contrasts with the dissipated passions of Antiochus. As Abraham Smith's study makes clear, Stephen becomes an ascetic paradigm through similar contrasts in Acts 6–7.[54] John Lentz has shown that this is particularly the case with Paul. Differences in deportment contrast Paul's sober and restrained addresses and actions both to his former self and to his current adversaries, who

*Books* (trans. H. St.J. Thackaray; LCL 210; Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1928), pp. 595, 601.

51. See also the use of ἄνδρες as an address in the Symposium of Darius in 1 Esdras 3–4.

52. E.g. Lk. 5.12, 18; 6.8; 8.27; 17.12; Acts 3.2; evil, 8.9; 13.6.

53. Stephen D. Moore and Janice Capel Anderson, 'Taking It Like a Man: Masculinity in 4 Maccabees', *JBL* 117 (1998), pp. 249-73.

54. 'Full of Spirit and Power', in Leif E. Vaage and Vincent L. Wimbush (eds.), *Asceticism and the New Testament* (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 97-114.

are as blinded and inflamed with their own rage against the Christians as he himself had been.[55]

The heroes of Acts are distinguished from those of *4 Maccabees* in that they demonstrate not self-mastery alone, but mastery over their circumstances as well. Social power characterizes Paul. He is described with the characteristics of the good rhetor: able both to speak the language of his hearers and to suit his style to his audience. His speech commands authority. In Athens, he atticizes. When arrested in the Temple, he speaks Greek to the military tribune (Acts 21.37-39) and thereby distinguishes himself from the barbarous Egyptian for whom that official had mistaken him.[56] Permitted to address the crowd, he uses the formal orator's gesture to silence them (cf. Alexandros' gesture in Acts 19.33), then addresses them in the Hebrew language (21.40; 22.2). In public addresses, Paul introduces himself first of all as a Jewish man (ἀνήρ) and a citizen of Tarsus. Paul's Jewish status warrants his message against the charge of innovation in religion.[57] He accounts for his ministry to his Christian comrades with an avowal of his absolute accountability as a steward of lives and goods (Acts 20.18-32). Only to the Roman authorities does he insist upon his rights as a Roman citizen (Acts 16.38; 22.25-29). The scenes in which Paul appears before Felix and Festus show him to be their social equal, even as they display the fear and greed that make them foils for his dignity and restraint. When Paul faces his accusers, the *captatio* he addresses to Felix (Acts 24.10) is notably less obsequious than that of the lawyer Tertullus (Acts 24.24).[58] Even in his address to Agrippa, he shows only marginally more deference to the king than he had done to Felix (Acts 26.2-3). When he prays that Agrippa might have the benefit of being as he himself is, 'except for these chains' (Acts 26.29), Agrippa takes no offence but remarks on Paul's manifest blamelessness (Acts 26.32).

Behind this depiction of Paul lies the Roman conviction that their claim to empire is based upon their own moral superiority.[59] The apologetic of Acts works not by depicting all Roman authorities as beneficent, but by applauding Roman values and processes (24.16) and by arguing that Christians are more Roman than they—as Paul is more Roman than his jailers and shows himself morally and socially fit to rule

55. John Clayton Lentz, *Luke's Portrait of Paul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 62-104.

56. Lentz, *Luke's Portrait*, pp. 28-30, 93.

57. D'Angelo, 'Women in Luke–Acts', p. 449.

58. See Porter, *The Paul of Acts*, p. 155 and n. 16; also Robbins, 'Social Location', pp. 321-22; if Robbins is correct, however, Paul does not treat Festus as his social equal.

59. Edwards, *Politics of Immorality*, pp. 20-29.

those who have put him in bonds.[60] Paul's conversations about justice, self-control, and the coming judgment (περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ τοῦ κρίνατος μέλλοντος, Acts 24.25) terrify Felix because, as a judge for many years (Acts 24.10), he should have these as his constant preoccupations. Yet he is unable to conquer the endemically imperial vice that makes him a bad servant to Rome: he hopes for a bribe from Paul (24.26).

### *The Masculinity of Jesus in the Christology of Luke–Acts*

Luke–Acts applies the term ἀνήρ not only to Paul and to the other Christian missionaries and their audiences, but also to Jesus. This in itself is highly unusual; elsewhere in the New Testament, ἀνήρ refers to Jesus only twice: in Jn 1.30, the baptizer uses the word ('after me comes ἀνήρ who came to be before me, because he was first of me'), while Eph. 4.13 applies it to Christ as the community ('built up into the perfect ἄνδρα). In contrast, in Luke–Acts, the disciples on the road to Emmaus (Lk. 24.19), Peter (Acts 2.22), and Paul (Acts 17.31) all characterize Jesus as ἀνήρ, and the term appears to bear a certain amount of christological weight.

In Lk. 24.19, the disciples on the road to Emmaus describe Jesus (to him) as 'a man, a prophet mighty in word and work before God and the people' (ἀνὴρ προφήτης δυνατὸς λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ). The language has a Septuagintal ring, and the phrase 'mighty in word and work' (δυνατὸς ἐν λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ) also describes Moses in Acts 7.22. While ἀνὴρ δυνατός is not used of Moses in the LXX, it is used of the judges he appoints (Exod. 18.21, 25).[61] The phrase ἀνὴρ δυνατός does indeed occur in the Deuteronomistic history, though not, as might be expected from Luke's characterization of Moses and Elijah as two ἄνδρες at the transfiguration (9.30), as a description of the heroic figures of Elijah and Elisha. Instead the phrase appears in a description of the prophetic role as it is understood by the Deuteronomist: 'when the Israelites cried out to the Lord on account of Midian, the Lord sent ἀνὴρ προφήτης' (Judg. 6.8 [LXX]).[62] This description includes a paradigmatic oracle which summarizes the exodus narrative, concluding, 'but you did not listen to my voice' (Judg. 6.10 [LXX]).

60. So also Lentz, *Luke's Portrait*, pp. 43-50, 95-100.

61. Exod. 18.21, ἄνδρας δυνατοὺς θεοσεβεῖς, ἄνδρας δικαίους μισοῦντας ὑπερηφανίαν; Exod. 18.25-26, ἄνδρας δυνατούς; also Num. 11.24-30, ἄνδρας ἀπο τῶν πρεσβυτέρων.

62. Some versions of the phrase do appear in reference to the prophetic bands in the Elijah and Elisha cycle [3 Kgdms (1 Kgs) 22.6; 4 Kgdms (2 Kgs) 2.7, 16, 17].

This Deuteronomistic characterization of prophecy is central to Luke–Acts' identification of Jesus with the prophet like Moses, an identification made both explicitly and by stressing Jesus' mighty deeds and rejection by his people. In Acts 2.22 Peter describes Jesus to his audience in similar terms as 'a man designated by God to you through miracles and wonders and signs' (ἄνδρα ἀποδεδειγμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς δυνάμεσι καὶ τέρασι καὶ σημείοις). At once the speech turns to the accusation that the hearers rejected and destroyed this divine emissary, if by the appointed wish and providence of God (2.23). Similarly, Paul announces to the Athenians that God is about to judge the world, 'by a man whom he has appointed, offering proof to all, raising him from the dead' (ἐν ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὥρισεν πίστιν παρασχὼν πᾶσιν ἀναστήσας, Acts 17.31). Far from convincing them, this declaration disperses the Athenian audience (Acts 17.32-33). Thus both speeches use the term in the context of demonstrations of spiritual power coupled with the Deuteronomistic accusation of the rejection of the prophets.

Another important manifestation of the relationship of the term ἀνὴρ προφήτης to the Deuteronomistic history emerges in Paul's synagogue speech in Pisidian Antioch. There ἀνήρ appears not in a direct characterization of Jesus, but in two scriptural testimonies (13.21-22). One is a brief reference to the characterization of Saul from 1 Kgs [1 Sam.] 9.1-2 (LXX) which describes him as ἀνὴρ δυνατός. Although Acts 13.21 does not cite δυνατός from these verses, 1 Kgs [1 Sam.] 9.1-2 (LXX) may have been the source of the description of Jesus in Lk. 24.19 and perhaps also of Moses in Acts 7.21. In Acts 13.23-24, a second testimony characterizes David as 'a man after God's heart' by combining Ps. 88.21 (LXX) with 1 Kgs [1 Sam.] 13.14 (LXX). This combined citation is particularly significant in assessing Luke's interest in the word, since ἀνήρ does not occur in the LXX version of either, but rather appears to have been introduced into the combined text, perhaps by the author of Acts. Together, the citations position Jesus, David's heir, in the heroic tradition of these kings (Acts 13.23) who were 'also among the prophets' (cf. Saul in 1 Kgs [1 Sam.] 10.1-13 (LXX); for David as prophet, see Acts 2.25-31).

Neither in the LXX nor in Luke does the use of ἀνήρ exclude women from the role of prophecy; women prophets appear in both texts. But Luke–Acts is less than comfortable with them. The long prophetic speeches of Mary and Elizabeth and the prophecy of Anna are distanced from the present as manifestations of the era of the Law and the Prophets; in Acts, the daughters of Philip are the only women prophets so identified, and they are not allowed prophetic speech. In the body of the gospel, 'the center of history', women speak only to be corrected (Lk. 10.38-42; 11.27-28). They appear in particular as beneficiaries of Jesus'

wisdom and his miraculous power and so serve to illustrate the ways he 'went about doing good and curing all those downtrodden by the devil' (Acts 10.38; see Lk. 8.1-3; 13.16). The woman who anoints Jesus is not a prophet designating the Messiah (as in Mk 14.3-9) but a sinner whose appearance on the scene vindicates Jesus' status as prophet (Lk. 7.36-50).[63] Since Luke accepts but limits the prophecy of women, in the texts that describe Jesus as 'a man' as well as 'a prophet', ἀνήρ enhances his prophetic status both by gendering it and by evoking its heroic overtones.

Does the influence of the LXX, and particularly of its heroic prophets, explain Luke's christological use of ἀνήρ, or are there indications that Jesus' masculinity is in other ways significant for the author, or that the concern for elite Roman status so conspicuous in the portrait of Paul has entered into the account of Jesus? At first glance this seems highly unlikely. 'Prophet' is an extremely important category for Luke–Acts, and one that can serve apologetic purposes in other ways.[64] Further, Jesus' career and fate fit poorly with Roman norms, as does the character of the material the author has inherited from Mark and Q. But there are some indications in the text that the author seeks to accommodate the career of Jesus to Roman standards of propriety for public figures.

Particularly in the account of Jesus' early years, Luke pays special attention to events that qualify Jesus for the status of public life in Judaism and casts these events into forms that assimilate them to Roman mores surrounding entry into public life. Luke commemorates the circumcision as well as the naming of Jesus (1.21), unlike Matthew (1.25), whose concern with Jewish legal stipulations is normally seen to be greater. The infancy stories in Matthew are highly selective and formalized; the absence of a reference to any circumcision of Jesus cannot bear a great deal of weight. But the contrast is notable for the way it underlines Luke's concern for this marker of male status. In discussing 'their purification' (a stipulation that must be observed after the birth of both male and female children), Luke explains the visit to the Temple 'to present/offer him' through a citation from, or at least based on, Exod. 13 (see vv. 2, 12 and 15): 'as it is written in the Law of the Lord: every male (ἄρσεν) that opens the womb shall be called holy to the Lord'. The 12-year-old Jesus seated among the teachers in the Temple, listening and questioning them, recalls Plutarch's description of the boy Alexander's sagacious questioning of the Persian ambassadors.[65] But it may also be appropriate to remember that Suetonius records the first and indeed

63. D'Angelo, '(Re)Presentations of Women', p. 187.
64. D'Angelo, 'Women in Luke–Acts', pp. 451-53.
65. *Alexander* 5.

preliminary and premature public appearances of several of the emperors (giving funerary orations for relatives).[66] Thus the scene constitutes a sort of entry into the forum for Jesus, substituting for the elite Roman practice of apprenticing a son to citizenship by bringing him on one's daily rounds of forum and senate. Jesus' subsequent, voluntary return and submission to his parents (Lk. 2.51) underlines the commitment to the (heavenly) father's business that he reserves for the proper time, while it allows him to demonstrate his conformity to the demands of Roman family values for a son in *patria potestas*. The author takes pains to note the age of Jesus at his baptism, and that age as about 30 (Lk. 3.23), the right age for Roman men to enter into public office.[67] Luke casts the genealogy in the form of an extended patronymic (son of Joseph, of Eli, etc.), rather than the more common biblical forms such as 'X begat Y' or 'the sons of Z: V, X, Y'. Thus the genealogy is assimilated to Roman and Greek names, both of which include a patronymic.[68] That this genealogy climaxes in Jesus' descent from Adam and then from God sets up an interesting parallel to Caesar's derivation of his own line from Venus, and Plutarch's derivation of Alexander from Heracles and Aecus.[69] Unlike any other New Testament author, Luke demonstrates Jesus' literacy as well as his ability to interpret the Scriptures (Lk. 4.16-17).[70] While the sum of these features cannot claim for Jesus the social status Luke attributes to Paul, they can and do assert his fitness for the public forum.

66. Suetonius, *D. Augustus* 8 (he gave a funeral oration for his grandmother Julia at the age of 12); *D. Tiberius* (for his father at the age of 9); *C. Caligula* (for his grandmother Livia before he was of age).

67. The usual age for entry into the quaestorship, the first-level magistracy of the *cursus honorum*, was 27-30 years; it was set by Sulla at 30, but the age was advanced to 25 during the Principate. It should be noted that the traditional ages for the magistracies were frequently flouted during the empire, especially for the imperial family.

68. As in Marcus Tullius *M.f.* (*Marci filius*) Cicero.

69. *Alexander* 2. For a more general treatment of Lk. 3.38 in the context of genealogy from deities see William Kurz, 'Luke 3.23-38 and Greco-Roman and Biblical Genealogies', in Talbert (ed.), *Luke–Acts*, pp. 171, 177-79. Kurz insists that the identification of Jesus as the supposed son of Joseph makes clear that the divine paternity of Adam is not by sexual generation as is the case with the descendants of the gods.

70. See Robbins, 'Social Location', pp. 324-25. The other gospels are at best ambiguous on the issue. Mark 3.25 implies that Jesus knows what his opponents could have read in the Scripture, and all the gospels depict Jesus as citing from them. On the other hand, Jn 7.15-16 may reflect a conviction on the part of John's community that Jesus was illiterate, but knew the content of the Scriptures from the inside: 'The Jews marveled, saying, "how does he know letters, since he has never studied?" Jesus answered them and said, "My teaching is not mine, but from the one who sent me".'

The encounters with women that demonstrate Jesus' prophetic knowledge and spiritual power also allow his character to be judged, and along with it, what he stands for in terms of Roman virtue. This is perhaps most obvious in the story of the sinful woman (7.36-50) in which the host sees her approach as a test of Jesus' character and prophetic role. To her, Jesus displays clemency and magnanimity, as also toward the widow of Nain (7.11-17), the women who were cured (8.1-3), and the bent-over woman (13.11-13). His response to the woman who blesses his mother evinces a becoming *pudor* ('shame, modesty') that refuses to claim too much for himself by allowing such praise (11.27-28).[71] Both this exchange and that with Martha (Lk. 10.38-42) are illuminated by the *encomia* of Plotina and Marciana, in Pliny's *Panegyric*. Pliny lauds Plotina for her insistently modest and equitable behavior toward her fellow citizens, and both her and her fellow citizens for the harmony between them, free from 'competition that is born of proximity and equal status and inflamed by envy' (*Pan.* 84.2). In his view, women are particularly prone to this rivalry; its absence between Plotina and Marciana comes from their eager emulation of Trajan and testifies to his superior instruction and example. Jesus' instruction of Martha thus shows his concern to replace such competition with harmony.

Finally the language of 'son' and 'father' requires some consideration in a discussion of the masculinity of Jesus in Luke. Luke uses the divine title 'father' more frequently than Mark and Q and still more frequently than both combined. The increase is related to the christological developments—though not necessarily to a higher christology than that of the sources. Between the divine oracle at the baptism of Jesus addressing him as 'my son' (3.23, cf. Mk 1.12) and the tempter who demands that he show himself to be Son of God (4.3, 9, cf. Mt. 4.3, 6), the genealogy identifies Jesus as Son of God through Adam, the common progenitor of humanity. Despite the reminder that Jesus was supposed to be the son of Joseph (Lk. 3.23), the sequence emphasizes the human meaning of the title, depicting Jesus as the object of divine will (εὐδόκησα, Lk. 3.22) and stressing his exemplary fidelity (Lk. 4.1-13). The midrash on the Nathan oracle in the annunciation to Mary identifies her son and David's as one who will be called 'son of God' (Lk. 1.32, 35). At the transfiguration the oracular voice that proclaims Jesus as God's son designates him as the chosen one (9.36). While Mark's centurion acknowledges Jesus as Son of God, in Luke this figure acquits him and admires his probity (2.47). His

71. Carlin A. Barton, 'The Roman Blush: The Delicate Matter of Self-Control', in James I. Porter (ed.), *Constructions of the Classical Body* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), pp. 212-34.

divine sonship emerges in his dying prayer (23.46); Luke has introduced 'father' into Ps. 31.6 [LXX]. All the Christian martyrs and indeed all believers can and should share in both prayer and address. The title 'Son of God' is sometimes seen as politically innocuous, having 'only a religious content' (as opposed to the political title Messiah).[72] But 'Son of God' appears as the Greek equivalent of *divi filius* on coinage at least from the reign of Claudius; particularly in the case of the adoptive emperors, it insists on the legitimacy of their rule. Perhaps the author sees the title as too provocative on the lips of a Roman soldier.

The characterization of Jesus as Son of God locates him as heir to the divine imperium (βασιλεία) that he then disposes to his followers (Lk. 12.30-32; 22.28-30). As the chosen heirs and sons of the same divine father, they act—and reign—by the example of his magnanimity and that of Jesus' service (Lk. 22.24-27). Possession of this reign is not limited to the 12 male apostles, but their prominence in the narrative helps to authorize the 'little flock' that inherits it.

### *Masculinity and the Deployment of Women*

Given this concern to identify the message and the messengers with the male elite of the empire, how should the deployment of women in Luke–Acts be explained? Why are Berenike and Drusilla present, though silent, at the apologies of Paul? Why must Damaris as well as Dionysios be named in Acts 17.34? Why the frequent specification that 'the way' consisted of 'both men and women'? How is a man's character being judged, and along with it what he stands for where these women are mentioned? And is it possible to discover anything about women in early Christianity, or at least in the context of Luke, from these references? Answering these questions requires contextually specific consideration of each of the passages. My own earlier essay and the work of scholars like Barbara Reid and Turid Karlsen Seim all make contributions to describing the literary and theological functions of these portraits. But some general social and political concerns also play a role. I wish to return to two of these—the first relates primarily to women in imperial ideology, the second to social and economic realities of women as patrons—and to suggest some modification of my earlier views.

#### *'Family Values' and Luke–Acts*

In 1990, I suggested that one stimulus to Luke's inclusion of women was the 'increased prestige and public function of marriage in the early

72. So Walaskay, *'And So We Came to Rome'*, p. 39.

second century' noted by Peter Brown.[73] I also referred to the named couples as marital pairs. This description, I believe, needs some rethinking. For one thing, while Anna and Simeon, Agrippa and Berenike are paired, they clearly are not married, and there is no suggestion that such pairs as Dionysius and Damaris are marital partners. For another, the interest in sexual asceticism that my essay noted and that has been made central to issues of gender in Luke–Acts by the work of Turid Karlsen Seim accords ill with any attempt to see the text as a proponent of marriage.[74] Luke's revisions of the question about the woman married successively to seven brothers have frequently been interpreted as an endorsement of celibacy (Lk. 20.34-36).[75] Further, Luke retains the prohibition of remarriage (however metaphorical) while eliminating the prohibition of divorce (16.18).[76] The wording of the saying assumes that only the behavior of the man is at issue. Indeed, a wife is among those whom one may/must leave for the sake of the kingdom (Lk. 14.26; 18.29), and marriage may be an obstacle to the invitation to the kingdom (14.20). All the parenetic material (as in the other gospels) is articulated in androcentric terms, and endorsements of celibacy for women are less explicit; while a husband may leave a wife for God's reign, the reverse is not stated, despite alternatives of leaving both parents and children, sisters and brothers. Jesus' correction of the woman who blesses his mother (11.27-28) and the woe pronounced upon the pregnant and nursing (2.27-28) do not have the impact separately that they have together in *Gos. Thom.* 79. In the context of the other sayings they suggest, if not an exhortation to abstinence, at least a rejection of the stigma of childlessness.[77] But Anna provides an explicit exemplar of female sexual asceticism (Lk. 2.36-38), and presumably the virgin daughters of Philip are also to be seen as ascetics (Acts 21.8).[78]

73. D'Angelo, 'Women in Luke–Acts', p. 450; Peter Brown, 'Late Antiquity', in Paul Veyne (ed.), *A History of Private Life*. I. *From Pagan Rome to Byzantium* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1987), pp. 237-311, esp. pp. 247-48.

74. D'Angelo, 'Women in Luke–Acts', pp. 456-57; Turid Karlsen Seim, 'Children of the Resurrection: Angelic Asceticism in Luke–Acts', in Vaage and Wimbush (eds.), *Asceticism and the New Testament*, pp. 115-25.

75. Seim, *Double Message*, pp. 208-209.

76. D'Angelo, 'Remarriage and the Divorce Sayings Attributed to Jesus', in W.P. Roberts (ed.), *Divorce and Remarriage: Religious and Psychological Perspectives* (Kansas City: Sheed and Ward, 1990), pp. 78-106, esp. 97-98.

77. See the argument made by Brant James Pitre in 'Blessing the Barren and Warning the Fecund: Jesus' Message for Women Concerning Pregnancy and Childbirth', *JSNT* 81 (2001), pp. 59-80.

78. Seim, *Double Message*, pp. 229-48.

These very features of Luke's interest in asceticism combined with his presentation of male and female partnerships fits rather well with the imperial households of Trajan and Hadrian. Among the propagandistic devices that Trajan used to distinguish himself from the Flavians in general and Domitian in particular and so to establish his imperial authority was the by-now requisite claim to restoring the Republic. He did this in part by presenting himself as a new Augustus. This included crafting and deploying imperial images that presented him as a Julio-Claudian by extension: portrait busts and statues give him a Julio-Claudian hairdo, and his monuments echo some of the features of Augustan propaganda, including Augustus's 'family values' campaign, his claim to use legal means to restore the *mos maiorum* ('ancestral mores') with regard to marriage, family, consumption, social distinctions, and sexual morality.[79] Thus the early second century saw not so much a new prestige for marriage as a renewed emphasis on the display of a supposedly traditional morality in these areas. Trajan's wife Pompeia Plotina and sister Ulpia Marciana played a central role in the claim to moral superiority that the Romans saw as the basis of their right to rule the world.[80] His niece Matidia and her daughter Sabina were likewise enlisted in this enterprise. Despite (or perhaps because of) Hadrian's supposed incompatibility with Sabina, his wife, and his highly public devotion to Antinoos, he appears to have made similar claims. During both reigns, coins were struck in honor of Plotina, Marciana, Matidia, and Sabina; these and other images identified the imperial women with Vesta, guardian of the hearth and of Rome itself, and with the personifications of virtues that had both marital and imperial significance, such as *pietas* (familial devotion), *fides* (faith, fidelity) and *concordia* (concord, harmony).[81] Thus, domestic verities were put to work in the public and imperial interest. For the adoptive emperors, the imperial women were important not as a source of dynastic succession, but as guarantors of the emperor's moral stature.

The impact of Augustus's marriage legislation on early Christian mores is often underestimated or even dismissed on the grounds that

79. 'By passing new laws I restored many *exempla* of the ancients that had fallen into desuetude', *Res gestae* 2.8 (by LCL numbering).

80. See Pliny, *Pan.* 84-85, and Bennett's conclusion that Pliny represents Trajan's own propagandistic program (*Trajan*, pp. 63-70).

81. Robert Andrew Glindinning Carson, *Coins of the Roman Empire* (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 39, 43, plates 10 and 12; also the substantial collections of coin inscriptions made by Hildegard Temporini, *Die Frauen am Hofe Trajans: Ein Beitrag zur Stellung der Augustae in Principat* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1978), pp. 100-115, and 255-61 and plates 1-5.

these laws were aimed at citizens of a status to which the early Christians neither belonged nor aspired. In regard to any of the early Christian works, this objection misses the real purpose and effect of these laws, which both reflected and consolidated public opinion and so offered early Christians a point at which they could compete for legitimacy while challenging the moral authority of their rulers.[82] But it is particularly off the mark with Luke–Acts, which manifestly seeks to present at least some early Christians as possessing Roman citizenship, and all believers as worthy of it.

Thus Luke presents the procurator Felix as accompanied by his Jewish wife Drusilla (24.24), as Trajan and Hadrian were accompanied by Plotina and Sabina on campaign. As Pliny eulogizes not only Trajan's consort, Plotina, but also his sister Marciana who shares her status (*Pan.* 84-85), so Luke does not hesitate to produce a singularly silent and well-behaved Berenike with her brother Agrippa (26.30-31).[83] The celibate Anna, once virgin, now widow, is paired with Simeon, though he is clearly not her sexual partner. Jesus' heroic and modest mother is accompanied by a husband who is his supposed (but not by the reader) father. As the eunuch Favorinus found (and lost) favor at the court of Hadrian, so too the Ethiopian eunuch's sexual status is unproblematic for Luke. Not only the display of appropriately gendered behavior, but also sexual restraint locates the Christian community as contributors to the stability of the imperial order. Thus gender correctness is significant for Luke's apologetic interests; sexual performance is not.

### *Patronage and 'Real Women' in the Second Century*

Is the increased role of women in Luke–Acts no more than a confluence of Roman ideology and Lukan apologetic, an attempt on the part of the author to present the early Christians (to themselves, even more than to the authorities) as superior practitioners of the true Roman family values? Are women produced in Luke only because the character of men is at stake? Or are there reflections of women's participation in early Christianity that differ from what Luke received from Mark and Q?

82. See on this D'Angelo, 'Early Christian Sexual Politics and Roman Imperial Family Values: Rereading Christ and Culture', *Proceedings of the Henry Luce III Fellowships in Theology* (forthcoming).

83. Notoriety describes most memories of Berenike better than fame. Ross S. Kraemer surveys the ambiguities of her reputation in 'Ber(e)nice', in Carol Meyers, Toni Craven and Ross S. Kraemer (eds.), *Women in Scripture: A Dictionary of Named and Unnamed Women in the Hebrew Bible, the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books and the New Testament* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), pp. 59-61.

At the least, historical information appears to be reflected in the names of women from the early Christian mission, especially where they appear also in other sources (as is the case with Martha and Mary, Mary Magdalene, and Prisca). The association of the root '*diakon-*' with women as well as men also suggests the participation of women in ministerial functions in the earliest communities, and probably the context of Luke–Acts.[84] Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza suggested that Luke reflects the tip of a very real iceberg of influential and well-placed women who engaged in both patronage (celebrated in Luke–Acts) and missionary work (excluded, or at least elided by the text).[85]

Patronage deserves special attention. Luke does indeed introduce a number of portrayals of women as patrons, particularly through hospitality. The women of 8.1-3, Martha in 10.38-42, the mother of John Mark in Acts 12, Lydia in Acts 16, Priscilla in Acts 18, the unnamed 'respectable women' of Acts 17.4 and 17.12, even Tabitha, all are portrayed in this light. While these women may to some degree reflect 'real' women of the earliest Christian mission, I think it more probable, and perhaps more important, that they are a tribute to and a curb on the reality of female patronage in the author's own period and community. Mary Taliaferro Boatwright has described the contributions and commemorations of Plancia Magna of Perge, a woman benefactor early in the reign of Hadrian, as a particularly striking exemplar of a number of elite women benefactors of the period in Asia Minor who not only contributed munificently to their civic communities but also achieved public honors and some levels of civic office as a result.[86] Thus, in Boatwright's view, 'the phenomenon of euergetism bluffed the traditional distinctions of public and private'.[87] If indeed Luke–Acts derives from the same period as these women civic patrons, their example helps to explain the treatment of women in these texts. In a sense, the author positions the women of these narratives both in relation to and in opposition to Plancia and her colleagues. Like them, Luke's Christian women are munificent for the common good; unlike the Roman women, their perfect modesty confines them to gender-appropriate roles. Given the relatively uncharted territory of early Christian communal life, the author has had to create 'traditional' roles by drawing a line that may

84. See D'Angelo, 'Women Partners in the New Testament', *JFSR* 6 (1990), pp. 65-86 (esp. 77-83).

85. Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, pp. 160-68.

86. Mary Taliaferro Boatwright, 'Plancia Magna of Perge: Women's Roles and Status in Roman Asia Minor', in Sarah B. Pomeroy (ed.), *Women's History and Ancient History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), pp. 242-78.

87. Boatwright, 'Plancia Magna of Perge', p. 260.

have been assumed in the narratives of some of his predecessors but was not made explicit in them. To men, Luke–Acts assigns the ministry of the word; to women, the ministry of benefactions and hospitality.

### *Conclusions*

The direct if partial examination of masculinity in Luke–Acts that I have made illuminates some of the complex functions of gender diffused throughout the two-volume work. In particular I have stressed that manly authority is deployed against a background of womanly deportment in order to show a defense against the charge that Christians preach un-Roman activities, mores (ἤθη) not permitted to Romans (Acts 16.20-21). On the contrary, the Christians show themselves to be exempla of the very practices the imperial order seeks (less than successfully) to foster. Through the prologues, the gospel and Acts are set up as an exchange between elite males, between noble, initiated patron and literate, sophisticated narrator. Jesus is depicted as ἀνήρ after God's own heart, a heroic prophet, cast in the mold of Elijah and Moses. A worthy heir to David's royalty, he is shown to have achieved, indeed excelled in, all the steps toward public manhood in his own nation, but in terms that are comprehensible to an imperial public. He shows himself to be a learned reader and interpreter, a skilled and powerful as well as inspired speaker. The heirs to his reign are likewise suited both by their qualifications and by their investment with divine power to be its ambassadors before the Roman world. The audiences they draw are men of their city, solemn civic assemblies well suited to give appropriate hearing to their message. When they reject it, the envy, malice, and disorder of Jewish trouble-makers often lie behind their refusal to hear. Paul the Roman citizen is the climactic paradigm of elite Christian masculinity; his Jewishness guarantees the authentic antiquity of the Christian message; his citizenship its safety in the imperial world. The presence of women in this picture testifies to the rightness of early Christian gender arrangements: the women by their deference and devotion to Jesus, Peter, and Paul, by the benefactions they receive and give, exhibit a virtue that the empire would do well to emulate.

Intriguing questions about gender in the world of Luke–Acts remain on every page. While masculine status and character are at stake in stories about Jesus and women, they must be at stake also in stories about men. How do such stories as the call of Peter (5.1-11) and the centurion's servant (7.1-10) bear upon these issues? My earlier article suggested that women prophets were seen as a problematic manifestation of Judaism, as

a non-Roman, Eastern religion.[88] What about representations of Jewish male religious figures? The gospel opens with the dignified and solemn figures of Zechariah and Simeon (the period of the Law and Prophets); these seem to give way to repulsive and ridiculous Jewish magicians who oppose Peter and Paul in the later parts of Acts (Simon Magus, 8.9-25; Bar Jesus, 13.6-12; the seven sons of Sceva, 19.11-20). How are masculinity, status, and character at stake here? Is there more to learn about masculinity in Luke–Acts from the figure of the eunuch? Why does the author have no need either to exploit or to apologize for the notoriety of Berenike? Finally, can Luke's concern with gender offer analogies for analyzing gender issues that are so much less explicit in the other gospels?

88. D'Angelo, 'Women in Luke–Acts', pp. 457-60.

# Reading Luke against Luke: Non-Uniformity of Text, Hermeneutics of Conspiracy and the 'Scriptural Principle' in Luke 1*

Brigitte Kahl

## *Scriptural Criticism: Scripture-Based?*

The relation between the authority of Scripture and the critique of Scripture remains as neuralgic a point in feminist and post-colonial hermeneutical debates as ever before. Who criticizes whom? If the biblical text as the (predominantly) male version of God's word needs to be submitted to the critique of its (female) readers, do the readers themselves have to submit to the critique of the text as well?

Seen from a European perspective, the reader has become the most prominent figure in current exegetical discussions in the United States. While a reader/context-centered, 'rhetorical'-critical paradigm has long since been working as a basic element of a feminist and liberation-theological hermeneutic, postmodern discourse has greatly contributed to a general shift of emphasis away from the source/author/redactor of a text, in part even from the text itself, to its readers/interpreters and their respective contexts.[1]

Does this development towards the reader raise anew the old confes-

* This essay contains the revised and expanded version of 'Lukas gegen Lukas lesen: Feministisch-kritische Relectura zwischen Hermeneutik des Verdachts und des Einverständnisses', *BK* 4 (1995), pp. 222-29. Translated by Barbara and Martin Rumscheidt and reprinted by permission.

1. Whereas the 'classic' historical-critical method focuses on sources, traditions, and redactions, the various strands of literary criticism in English-speaking scholarship have brought a shift of emphasis. The approach towards the text, and the relations between text and reader, as well as the signficance of the socio-cultural location of readers for their 'readability', are defined and assessed differently in narrative criticism, structuralism, reader-response criticism, rhetorical criticism. Wherever the text's own meaning becomes wholly absorbed by the meaning-giving act of reading and the text appears only to be a product of changing readers' interpretations, the transition to post-structuralism occurs. On this see S.D. Moore, *Literary Criticism and the Gospels* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); *idem*, *Post-structuralism and the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Augsburg–Fortress Press, 1994).

sional disputes such as the relation of Scripture and tradition? Is it possible to reconcile a reader-centered point of departure and the old Protestant '*sola*/alone' of Scripture? Or are the differently framed feminist attempts to maintain the authority of Scripture merely 'neo-orthodox' apologetic rearguard actions on a terrain that was lost long ago?[2]

The following reflections on Luke situate themselves in the field of these tensions between the authority of Scripture and/or the authority of the readers' community. Starting from a socio-literary/socio-rhetorical analysis of the text, I attempt to discern the active role of the readers as well as the root pattern of a feminist-critical counter-reading as something inscribed right into the patriarchal text itself.

This may seem highly contradictory and confusing. Usually we do not think in terms of a feminist critique of Scripture that is scriptural,—appropriate to Scripture—nor of a Scripture-based reading that implies Scriptural criticism. Or is our understanding of what a text is too simplistic and too fixated on clear-cut messages we want to derive from it, particularly when we deal with 'the' message, the good news of Jesus the Messiah? Can a gospel text like Luke speak with different voices to different readers? Can it both hide and reveal its message at the same time? Can it deconstruct itself?[3]

## *The Bilingual Text and a Hermeneutic of Conspiracy*

We are familiar with such ambiguities and polarities of textual structures in other areas. In psychoanalytic dream theory, Sigmund Freud

2. Concerning the charge of 'neo-orthodoxy', addressed to Rosemary Radford Ruether, Letty Russell and Phyllis Trible, see Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Bread Not Stone* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984), pp. 12-14, as well as her *In Memory of Her: Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1983), pp. 14-21. On the other hand, Fiorenza's own hermeneutic model, with its polarity of 'hermeneutic of suspicion' and 'historical reconstruction', was being criticized for its faint-hearted critique of Scripture as being incoherent, apologetic and even 'biblicistic'. See Lone Fatum, 'Women, Symbolic Universe and Structures of Silence', *ST* 43 (1989), pp. 61-80, esp. pp. 61-63.

3. Some of the basic insights underlying this article, especially concerning the exegetical exploration of Lk. 1.1-4; Lk. 1–2, Acts, and a hermeneutic of 'reading Luke against Luke', have been developed in much more detail in my *Armenevangelium und Heidenevangelium: 'Sola scriptura' und die ökumenische Traditionsproblematik im Lichte von Väterkonflikt und Väterkonsens bei Lukas* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1987). Meanwhile, moving between worlds—from pre-1989 East Germany to post-1989 Germany and subsequently to the United States—has sharpened my awareness of different voices within the text which are heard or remain unheard differently in different contexts.

established the existence of phenomena known as 'compromise formations', which are defined as a condensation of different, even antagonistic impulses under the dominance and censorship of one of the sides. Dream-work creates forms that repress material of the 'latent dream' but, at the same time, give the repressed material a chance to be admitted to consciousness in a transformed way. According to Freud, these compromise formations of the 'manifest dream' are the intersection of different, even contradicting, chains of association and can be reclaimed and 'read' from two or more vantage points. Translated into the language of textual interpretation, this would mean that opposing readings may be 'textual' with regard to the 'dream text'.[4]

'Censorship', 'compromise formations', and 'antagonistic readings' are relevant categories of textual production in the socio-political sphere as well. Coming from an Eastern European context, one would be reminded of reading and writing experiences that pre-date the year 1989 and its political events. For example, what kind of 'text' is produced in a telephone conversation when you know that the line is tapped? You have learned which words to use and which ones to avoid, and how to say what you want to say without expressing it. Perhaps you even say something you do not mean but, ideally, the person to whom you speak will know that the statement was meant for the third partner of your conversation, the well-known, unknown one. Let us say, a written record of this telephone call is then read in a different context where the rules of the game are no longer understood; only then this perfectly functional and complex communication will appear as inconsistent, irrelevant, trivial, even apologetic.

Writing/speaking under external or internal censorship almost automatically produces a kind of text which is self-contradictory in that it 'serves two masters': the 'obedient reader' who observes the rules of the (reading) game established by the omnipresent imaginary or real 'censor', and the 'subversive reader' who reads 'between the lines', searching the 'compromise' of the text for counter-readings and hidden or coded information. Understanding the inconsistency of the text is one of the most elementary prerequisites of reading and 'making sense' of it in any

4. Cf. Sigmund Freud in J. Strachey (ed.), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* (trans. J. Strachey; 24 vols.; London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1961), XV, p. 171; VII, p. 163: 'Among the most surprising findings is the way in which the dream-work treats contradictions that occur in the latent dream. We know already that conformities in the latent dream are replaced by condensations in the manifest dream. Well, contraries are treated in the same way as conformities, and there is a special preference for expressing them by the same manifest element...'

countercultural setting. Christian texts and Christian existence in their formative period have no doubt been shaped in a fundamental way by such a countercultural setting. Yet, the basic rules and skills of a hermeneutic of conspiracy have rarely been used to understand them.[5]

*Luke–Acts as a 'Compromise Formation'*

Until today, the author of Luke–Acts and his or her intentions have been interpreted in highly divergent ways. They range from Luke, the physician, the historian, the early catholic, the man of faith, the apologist, to Luke the gospel writer of the poor who speaks up for the marginalized and for women. No consensus among contemporary writers is in sight. If one compares only the three major European and North American feminist Bible commentaries available now, one finds that even feminist exegetes differ widely in their perspectives on Luke.[6] There are more women around in Luke than in any other gospel. Male stories get a female counterpart. In Lk. 1, we find an invaluable text of liberation, the Magnificat of Mary; in Lk. 8.1-3, there is the only list of female disciples of Jesus. As such texts are provided mostly by Luke's special material, does this not show that egalitarian, liberation-oriented visions, traditions, and conflicts of women are at the core of Luke's community and gospel and that women successfully resist efforts to silence them?[7] On the other hand, feminist critics have asked whether female characters in Luke are only used to reimpose conservative female roles: submissive guilt-ridden women like the great sinner in Lk. 7 who washes Jesus' feet with her tears; silent and receptive women like Mary as opposed to speaking, active women like her sister Martha in Lk. 10; 'domestic' women supportive of male leadership such as those in Lk. 8.3 who follow Jesus but only in a subordinate position of service.[8]

5. On this whole complex, see J.C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990). Cf. also the challenging textual explorations in V.L. Wimbush (ed.), *Rhetorics of Resistance: A Colloquy on Early Christianity as Rhetorical Formation = Semeia* 79 (1997), pp. 1-118.

6. Jane Schaberg, 'Luke', in Carol A. Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe (eds.), *The Women's Bible Commentary* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), pp. 275-92; T. Karlsen Seim, 'The Gospel of Luke', in Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (ed.), *Searching the Scriptures: A Feminist Commentary* (2 vols.; New York: Crossroad, 1994), pp. 728-62; Claudia Janssen and Regine Lamb, 'Das Evangelium nach Lukas, Die Erniedrigten werden erhöht', in Luise Schottroff and Marie-Theres Wacker (eds.), *Kompendium Feministische Bibelauslegung* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1998), pp. 513-27.

7. Cf. Janssen and Lamb, 'Das Evangelium nach Lukas', pp. 511-17.

8. Cf. Schaberg, 'Luke', pp. 286-89; and Seim, 'Gospel of Luke', pp. 745, 747.

Let us return to the inconsistency and compromise character of texts produced in countercultural settings. Could the divergent interpretations of Luke indicate that the text is in fact inconsistent in the sense that it comprises extreme polarities in a 'compromise formation' created by a countercultural setting?[9] There is no doubt about the 'countercultural existence' of the followers of Jesus in Luke–Acts. Like hardly any other New Testament author, Luke makes us aware of the structures of domination and power that prevail everywhere. It is quite obvious that Luke's protagonists are victimized by these structures despite their repeated escapes, and even when the Lukan Paul declares in numerous official speeches before high-ranking Roman authorities that his group does not represent any security risk.[10] Right from the beginning, Luke points to the imperial framework of his narrative (2.1-3; 3.1-3). He identifies the addressee of his entire two-volume work as somebody in a hierarchical position concerned about this matter: 'His Excellency Theophilus' (Lk. 1.4 and Acts 1.1) is meant to recognize the 'security' (Greek: ἀσφάλεια, Latin: *securitas*) the messianic events represent.[11]

9. The inherent contradictions of the Lukan text with regard to women have been observed and interpreted differently by the feminist authors cited; Janssen and Lamb see it from a socio-historical perspective as an expression of real conflicts and struggles which inscribed themselves into the Lukan text, thus shifting the emphasis away from the single author Luke to a multifaceted process of co-authorship of women and men within a prophetic-messianic, anti-Roman, liberation movement (Janssen and Lamb, 'Das Evangelium nach Lukas', pp. 516-17). The focus of reading is on the transforming, liberating aspect of Luke. Schaberg, on the other hand ('Luke', p. 291), admits that in her interpretation the 'oppressive dynamics of the gospel of Luke have been explored...far more than the liberating elements'. Though she acknowledges that 'reading with new eyes against Luke's intent may bring to light egalitarian traditions preserved in the sources of this gospel', she strongly insists that Luke is not an 'ally' but an 'opponent' who exercises pressure on Christian groups to conform to the traditional gender expectations and roles within the Roman Empire'. Seim is more cautious when she speaks about a 'double message' that Luke transmits, 'The women are brought to silence, but at the same time they continue to speak through the story' (Seim, 'Gospel of Luke', p. 761). Her perception of the text as a 'complex movement and process', where 'contrapuntal voices are to be heard like in a polyphony' ('Gospel of Luke', p. 729), is close to my own point of departure. Cf. also T.K. Seim, *The Double Message: Patterns of Gender in Luke–Acts* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994).

10. Cf. Acts 14.5; 16.25-39; 17.5-9; 18.12-17; 19.23-41; 22.22-29; 23.26-30; 24.10-23; 26.24-32.

11. Common translations of ἀσφάλεια at the end of Lk. 1.4 as 'authenticity' (NEB), 'truth' (RSV), 'how well-founded' (NJB), etc., do not render quite precisely the political connotations that Luke's 'rhetorical program' also has. Eight of the fifteen New Testament occurrences of the root ἀσφάλ- are in Luke; all except Lk. 1.4 are in Acts where they mostly relate to legal charges against the Christian 'way' and to the

'His Excellency', the (insecure) recipient 'Theophilus', is the only reader and addressee made known explicitly by a New Testament gospel. This 'official' announcement of a 'rhetorical program'—including the reading/writing goal of the text—makes Luke from the outset highly interesting for a reader-centered exploration of scriptural structure, scriptural (in)consistency, and scriptural authority. But it also raises the question of whether 'behind the screen' of the Lukan prologue (1.1-4) there must not have been readers and reading/writing intentions that were less 'official' and visible. For example, how else could it be explained that the 'most excellent Theophilus' and his concerns with security are confronted right at the beginning with two women proclaiming in a most rebellious context that God 'has brought down the powerful from their thrones' (1.52)? Does Luke communicate with opposing groups of readers and in different voices?

Perhaps this could help explain some more of the striking phenomena about Luke; for example, Luke's literary Paul seems to survive in Rome, preaching the gospel 'unhindered' (28.31),[12] whereas the 'historical' Paul was almost certainly executed under Nero. Does Luke try to convey the gospel as a message that is to be heard in terms of 'damage containment' and 'damage control' by those listening 'from above' and as a story of skillful, if miraculous, survival by those listening 'from below'? Is this one of the reasons why Luke—and this would be rather strange for a 'historian'—not only keeps silent about the death of Paul (and Peter), but also brings his two volumes on Christian origins to a rather abrupt end, almost exactly at the point where the most dramatic events of the great and tragically defeated Jewish rebellion against Rome began?

Luke is by no means telling 'everything', as he had announced to Theophilus in 1.3.[13] Is it because the conflictive elements of the Christian story would not fit well into his security-consciousness? Were there

imprisonment of its followers (5.23; 16.23; 21.34; 22.30; 25.26). It has to be added that ἀσφάλεια/*securitas* was a core concept in Roman state ideology (see 1 Thess. 5.3). Likewise, the term κράτιστε points to a political reading. It occurs only in Luke–Acts, and the three times it is used in Acts (apart from Lk. 1.3) relate exclusively to high-ranking Roman authorities: 'His Excellency' the Roman governor Felix in 23.26; 24.3 and his successor Festus in 26.25.

12. Ἀκωλύτως ('unhindered') as the last word of the 54 chapters of Luke–Acts seems to respond very well to the above-mentioned legal and political connotations of ἀσφάλεια ('security') as the last word of Luke's proemium in 1.4.

13. If one assumes that Luke–Acts was written around the year 90 CE, there remains a time gap of about 30 years between 'now' and the end of Acts, even if the Lukan prologue announces that it covers 'everything' concerning 'the events that have been fulfilled among us'.

readers who read between the lines and who, as in a telephone conversation that is tapped, could make sense of what was left unsaid? Or, to talk in Freud's terms, were there those who could decipher the repressed material in its transformed appearance which was the condition for its emergence? Then it would be precisely these 'black holes' of the communication that constituted the actual 'storm center' of the Lukan volumes: the murderous power of Rome over any Jewish or other movement perceived as resistant and dangerous to the security and order of the *pax romana* and the question of how one could develop (speech) strategies of survival without giving up the reality-transforming visions and experiences tied to the crucified and resurrected Messiah Jesus.

Obedient and subversive readers, opposing forces and positions condensed and brought together in a compromise formation, textual splits and inconsistencies, blueprints of counter-reading inscribed into the very text itself: nowhere else than in the two foundational chapters about the 'beginning' (Lk. 1–2) do these concepts seem to be operating so intensely. The following analysis of Lk. 1 is trying to explore some of these dynamics.

### *In the Beginning: The End of the Fathers' Time (Lk. 1.1-23)*

The first word of the Bible in Genesis is בראשית: 'in the beginning'. Beginnings are a matter of principle. In Latin, the Bible begins: *in principio*. Beginnings also have to do with dominance. In Hebrew, בראשית is related to ראש: 'head'; in Greek, the word in Gen. 1.1 is ἐν ἀρχῇ from ἀρχή ('rule'). Therefore, it is no surprise that in his wide-ranging revision of the earliest tradition of Christianity, the third evangelist sets great store precisely on the beginning.

> [1]Since many have undertaken to set down an orderly account of these events that have been fulfilled among us, [2]just as they were handed down to us by those who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and servants of the word, [3]I too decided, after investigating everything carefully from the very first, to write an orderly account to you, most excellent Theophilus, [4]so that you may know the truth (ἀσφάλεια /'security') concerning the things about which you have been instructed (Luke 1.1-4 [NRSV]).

If we have come to question whether Luke is going to tell (Luke 1.1-4 [NRSV]) everything (1.3), at least he will tell it 'from the very first', following his own investigation and the testimony of those who 'from the beginning' were eye-witnesses and servants of the word'. Where Mark simply starts his gospel by announcing 'the beginning of the good news of Jesus Christ' (Mk 1.1), Luke enlarges and interprets this beginning by drafting two chapters of Christian 'Genesis narratives' at the

outset of his 'account of the events that have been fulfilled among us' (1.1). That is why Lk. 1-2 are of specific importance if one tries to decipher Luke's project.

And yet, searching for the decisive 'beginning', it is only with difficulty that one can determine where 'the events' really start. Like their First Testament counterparts in Genesis, the Lukan birth stories in ch. 1 are centered around fathers, mothers, and sons, around fertility and infertility, faith and unbelief, and brotherly and sisterly relationships. On the other hand, the first chapter of Luke's gospel is a text that is structured conspicuously by references to time. But in looking for the precise point zero of the 'very first', where the 'Christian calendar' begins, one first of all gets lost in a chronological labyrinth. As in a weaving, different measurings of time pervade the text; they criss-cross, superimpose themselves on and run into each other, forming a tightly knit web into which the text and its message are woven. For this reason, what follows seeks to discern the meaning of Lk. 1 by deciphering its time references.

Trying to uncover the thread of meaning in the tangle of enmeshed time strands, one comes across no fewer than four different orders of time in the first part of the Lukan chapter on 'the beginning'.

1. The narrative opens in v. 5 with a reference to the *political/historical time* that encompasses the entire event of Lk. 1: 'In the days of King Herod of Judea...'

2. After having introduced the two principal characters of this section, Zechariah and Elizabeth, Luke concludes their presentation with a reference to their waning *biological/individual time*. The couple is childless and without prospects for progeny, for 'both were getting on in years' (1.7). This perception of the span of human life from the perspective of its conclusion rather than its future is what 11 verses later precipitates the interchange between Zechariah and the angel in the Temple: 'For I am an old man, and my wife is getting on in years...' (1.18).

3. What determines that action of the Zechariah episode in the Temple of Jerusalem is *religious/cultic time*. It marks the beginning of the episode 'when he [Zechariah] was serving as priest before God when his section was on duty' (1.8), as well as its conclusion 'when his time of service was ended' (1.23), making reference to the meticulous annual time frame structuring the weekly Temple service of the 24 priestly divisions (cf. 1 Chron. 24.1-19). Priestly time comes to a head when Zechariah meets the angel 'at the time of the incense offering' (1.11), which marks both the narrative climax of the episode and the biographical climax of Zechariah's priestly life, as a priest was granted the privilege of burning the

incense only once in his lifetime.[14] And it is within this carefully structured time order of everyday Temple service that an unusual delay, an interruption of the chronological routine, has to be noted, when Zechariah spends more time in the Temple than expected (Greek: χρονίζειν 'to delay, to spend more time than expected') leaving the waiting crowd 'wondering' (1.21).

4. Within this framework, the encounter with the fourth kind of time occurs. The angel standing at the altar announces to Zechariah that a son will be born to him, who is to be a spirit-filled prophet and a forerunner of the Lord (1.13-17). The onset of *messianic time* is signaled. But Zechariah is unable to give credence to the angel. Looking closely at the text, it becomes clear where the provocation of the angel's announcement is to be found. Neither the linear measuring of time in biography and historiography nor the cyclical measuring of time in the Temple cult could conceive of a radically 'changed' time. They both counted either on an ongoing progression of how it had always been, year after year, king following king, service again and again—or, on the end. 'I am an old man, and my wife is getting on in years' (1.18). Therefore, behind Zechariah's explicit query concerning the biological impossibility of late fatherhood, one could also hear the implicit political inquiry about how Herod's rule is to be reconciled with the approaching reign of God, and the theological question as to the function of the Temple in light of the Messiah's coming.

'How will I know that this is so?' asks Zechariah (1.18). In the midst of closed, leaden time, how can one firmly establish that there is actually 'another time'? How are the old patterns of time to be opened up, how is becoming new and different through the Messiah to begin when everything seems to be running or have run its course? The angel answers Zechariah's question with a sign that in its nature is paradoxical: 'But now, because you did not believe my words, which will be fulfilled in their time (καιρός) you will become mute, unable to speak, until the day these things occur' (1.20).

'Until these things occur', that is, until the birth of his son John, nine months of silence are imposed on Zechariah: the introduction of this *penalty chronology* signals a dramatic time-break within the text. Obviously, the future cannot be opened up except through the strict negation of existing chronological orders. Those orders of time are represented by the childless Zechariah, subject of Herod, priest of the Temple: right at the incense altar and at the most sacred moment of his closest

14. See Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke* (New York: Doubleday, 1993), p. 259.

communication with God, it has been revealed that he is unable to count on the 'time of God'. That is why his time is ended, and with it political and cultic time too are annulled for the next 34 verses. What begins now is a completely new era with new actors.

*Time-Break: Mothers' and Children's Time (Lk. 1.24-57)*

The new way of dating, in which the beginning of God's time inscribes itself, bursts open every prevailing historical or religious chronology. The messianic breach of time is signaled within the framework of a chronology of pregnancy that structures the whole middle section of Lk. 1. 'After these days', that is, when the time of Zechariah's service in the Temple has ended and the priest, having become mute, has returned home again, Elizabeth becomes pregnant and hides herself 'for five months' (1.24). 'In the sixth month' the angel comes to Mary in Nazareth (1.26). When for understandable reasons she cannot believe the announcement that she is to have a child without the involvement of a father, the angel tells her the unbelievable news of the aged Elizabeth who, also unimaginably, has become pregnant and is herself in her sixth month (1.36). Upon hearing this, Mary—alone and without support—sets out for Judea and goes to the house of Zechariah. The unborn John responds to the voice of Mary with joyful leaping in his mother's womb. Elizabeth, with loud cries, greets Mary as an expectant mother like herself. To that greeting, Mary replies with the Magnificat. This first 'Christian' house community endures for a period of 'three months'; then Mary returns home, and 'the time came for Elizabeth to give birth' (1.56-57).

There seems to be a strong connection between time order and gender relations in Lk. 1. Historical political time, measured in terms of the rulers in power, and Temple time, structuring the cultic obligations and also the lifetime of an exclusively male priesthood, were patriarchal understandings of time.[15] The same is essentially true of biological and biographical time, which is oriented by paternity and male progeny. But now, the beginning of the time of God's promise is posited most dramatically in a time roster that is gynocentric. This alone is highly unusual.

Not surprisingly, therefore, along with this break there comes a fundamental reversal of the entire structure of patriarchal domination on the level of narrative interaction. For the entire nine months, *pater familias* Zechariah is not seen or heard. During this interval, the hitherto

15. For a definition of patriarchy as a comprehensive concept of domination, see Luise Schottroff, *Lydia's Impatient Sisters: A Feminist Social History of Early Christianity* (trans. B. Rumscheidt and M. Rumscheidt; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1995), pp. 21-35.

prevailing, patriarchal order of space and time in his household is transformed from top to bottom by two women and two unborn sons. The patriarchal house of Zechariah, as the nucleus of the social structure of domination,[16] becomes a mothers' and children's house in which sisterliness and brotherliness reign in place of 'paternal power' (*patria potestas*). The initiative to act and speak lies exclusively with the women and the unborn boy, John, who precipitates Elizabeth to utter her spirit-filled words (1.41-45). Accordingly, the social and political space is restructured entirely on the basis of this changed reality. In the Magnificat (1.52-53), the most famous biblical song of liberation, Mary renders anew the ancient song of Hannah (1 Sam. 2.1-10): 'He has put down the mighty from their thrones, and exalted those of low degree; he has filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he has sent empty away'. With Mary's child, conceived without a father, hope takes form irreversibly: hope for justice and for a world without domination and submission, without shortage and surplus. Messianic time has begun.

This finally gives new determination to the cultic-theological domain of service and communication with God that, in Lk. 1.5-25, was occupied solely by Zechariah and the Temple. Facing the announcement of an 'unbelievable' pregnancy, where the Temple priest failed on account of his unbelief, Mary manifests belief. It is she who now speaks of herself as God's servant (1.48) and who articulates the onset of messianic time with prophetic authority. Mary serves, glorifies, communicates God (1.38, 46, 47ff), where Zechariah is doomed to absence and silence.

### *The New Time of the Son (Lk. 1.58-80)*

The dual chronology of pregnancy that artfully connects Elizabeth's story with that of Mary differs from the other calculations of time found in Lk. 1. It is a time that is open toward what lies ahead, a time receptive[17] to becoming new. But it is also a time of transition that will inevitably pass away. Accordingly, in the third act of Lk. 1, the time of the father and the mother is superseded by the time of the son. It is marked primarily by a point in time, the 'eighth day' (after the birth) as the day of circumcision (1.59). It implies references ahead to the subsequent life of John as the one who prepares the way for messianic time (1.76), as well as being rooted retrospectively in the continuity of the prophet's message and the history of the covenant people since

16. Cf. Schottroff, *Lydia's Impatient Sisters*, pp. 24-25.

17. ['Receptive' in the German text is *empfänglich* which echoes the sense of pregnancy. Transl.]

Abraham (1.70, 73 and 1.66, 80). The time of God that Zechariah had denied in the Temple has nine months later been firmly established in the biography of his son.

This has provided the space for the 'capstone' in the structure of the narrative. The sequence of events in the concluding episode of the naming of John is a compressed and, once again, highly dramatic narrative. It takes up the thus far divergent strands of the father's and mother's actions in Lk. 1 and weaves them together into a new synthesis. Now the son is at the center. Neighbors and relatives are celebrating the birth of the baby (1.58), and at his circumcision the miraculous child of Zechariah's old age is going to be named after his father. Elizabeth, however, opposes this father-centered name-giving by insisting on the name John, announced by the angel at the very beginning (1.13). The narrative again builds an opposition between 'the divine' and 'the paternal' and thereby reactivates once again the basic antithesis of Lk. 1. Standing against those who favor the father's name, Elizabeth is the lone advocate of the God-given name. Up to 1.61 she dominates the action. The decision is finally delegated to the still mute Zechariah, who re-enters the stage for the first time; on a little wax tablet he confirms the name of Elizabeth, the angel, and God.

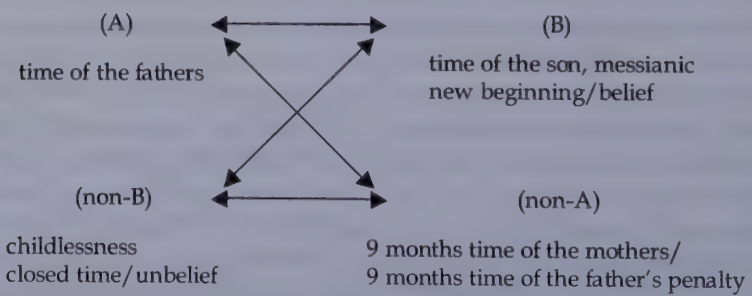
At precisely this moment, Zechariah is given back his ability to speak and, therein, his ability to act. This very incident confirms the reading of Lk. 1 up to this point. Learning to 'believe' (1.20) is a nine-month-long process of development on the part of one who embodies the order of the fathers and who had been rendered silent, that is, placed into a state of pure receptivity. Learning to believe for Zechariah signifies much more than credulity concerning a biological miracle; rather, it is a mark of accommodating oneself to a new individual and social logic of action. By deciding in favor of the non-paternal name, contrary to his own interests and the everyday reason of the relatives and neighbors, Zechariah symbolically breaks with the social rules of the patriarchal order. He relegates the authority of the father (and of his name) below that of the son (and of his name) who embodies the authority of God—which in turn is mediated via the authority of the mother.

With such leveling of patriarchal superiority, Zechariah fits himself into the new household order that had emerged in the previous three months in his home, under the aegis of two women and two future men. The signs of the great messianic change in world and humanity, that earlier in the Temple Zechariah could not believe, become 'known' (1.18) all of a sudden in his own person. Consequently, it is exactly at this moment that his voice returns. Paralleling Mary's Magnificat, he utters on his part a great song of praise and hope: the Benedictus (1.67-79).

*An Intermediate Reflection: Structural Analysis and Hermeneutics*

Thus far, my study of Lk. 1 is oriented initially by the narrative component of the structure of time. On the one hand, it yields a strongly antithetical structure in the middle part of this chapter (1.24-57) and, on the other hand, that structure's resolution in a new synthesis in the concluding part (1.58-80). This antithetic/synthetic basic construction is connected to a noticeable polarization related to the actors as well as to theological and sociopolitical arrangements. In Lk. 1, the patriarchal opening (which mirrors the social status quo) is followed by a counter-agency, marked by the dominance of the mothers and a brotherly-sisterly egalitarianism. This counter-agency comes to its fulfillment and simultaneous end in the father's reintegration. The new synthesis is best described in terms of the concept *familia dei* ('family of God') as the domain where the roles of mothers, fathers, and children are equivalent.[18]

If one has to explicate the threefold structure of Lk. 1 in a diagram, the model of the 'semiotic square', developed in structuralism, comes to mind. It analyzes text structures in terms of four either opposing or complementary positions (A, B, non-A, non-B). In the diagram, the concepts coordinated vertically one to the other are in each case in a relation of complementarity and some sort of affinity (A and non-B; B and non-A). The remaining diagonal or horizontal relations mark opposition or contradiction.[19] According to this model, Lk. 1 would comprise the following four constituents on the level of the chronology. In their textual arrangement and function, one could perceive them as something like the 'cornerposts' of the text from whose diverse relations—opposition and correspondence—the action dynamic of the text is suspended.




18. Concerning the patriarchal connotations of the term *familia dei*, even when it is used in a seemingly positive way to describe gender relations, see Schottroff, *Lydia's Impatient Sister*, pp. 214-17.

19. Cf. Daniel Patte, *The Religious Dimension of Biblical Texts: Greimas' Structural Semiotics and Biblical Exegesis* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), p. 15.

The course of action in Lk. 1 occurs in three steps: from A and non-B (1.5-23) via non-A (1.24-57) to B (1.58-80). In the Temple there occurs a collision between the time of the fathers (A) and the time of the son (B). Whereas the time of the fathers is marked negatively as 'closed time' by childlessness, so futurelessness, and by unbelief (non-B), the time of the son is the time of the messianic new beginning to be initiated by John (B). From this collision emerges a nine-month-long countertime of the mothers (non-A) which, at the same moment, is the penalty time of the father's learning. This countertime utterly negates the father's time and order (non-A). The time of the promised son in B can begin only after this anti-patriarchal break of time in non-A which marks the beginning of the 'Christian' era.

The whole narrative of Luke rests on the transition from A to B which goes via non-A. It happens when, in the episode of the little writing tablet, the unbelieving father's faith (A) is rehabilitated by an act of submission to the mother, the son, and God. He thus turns away also from the childlessness, futurelessness, faithlessness that mark his past (non-B). At the same time he confirms the messianic change that has happened during the time of the pregnant mothers in non-A. (B versus non-B and in correspondence to non-A.) The patterns of patriarchal agency are thereby transformed into the order of the household of the *familia dei*. The time patterns that belong to the father's chronology and are closed to the future are opened up for the messianic time of John and Jesus (B versus A and versus non-B).

### *Reading with the Eyes of 'Theophilus' and with the Eyes of 'Lydia'*

Next to the structure of time, speaking and silence as categories of agency have great significance for the interpretation of Lk. 1. The fact that the messianic time which begins with John is launched by a long speech of the father—and not, for example, by a joint speech by Elizabeth and Zechariah—raises suspicion. The literary ordering of the finale of Lk. 1 shows clearly that the initially denied 'turning of the heart of the father to the son' (cf. 1.17-20) has now occurred. But what has happened to the 'turning to the mother' that was the first step of this change (1.63)? Is the Benedictus to be read together with Mary's Magnificat as a warrant that in the newly inaugurated era women and men speak together? Or does the fathers' speaking from now on once again suppress the mothers' speaking? Is Zechariah truly rehabilitated into the non-patriarchal family of God after his nine-month-long period of silence? Or, does his home become the birthplace of a new descendant of the fathers' order, along the

lines perhaps of a watered down 'love patriarchalism'?[20] The finale of Lk. 1 is open in principle to both of these readings.

Hermeneutic of suspicion or hermeneutic of trust: in this case, who has the authority to decide about the correctness of the reading? The author/redactor Luke? The sources or historical facts that may be reconstructed from or behind the text? The individual reader or the reading community? Each of these questions opens up a whole new universe of questions.

Looking once again at Luke's 'Scripture', feelings of ambiguity become stronger when reading the second chapter of his narrative about the beginning. Again, two women—Mary and Anna—are present. But in comparison to the first chapter, they seem to be relegated back into the old assignment to and submission under the acting and speaking men. Mary is no longer the one who believes, sets forth, and speaks; she is the one who accompanies, listens, remembers. Her acting seems to be reduced to 'mother-like' behavior in that she wraps her baby in swaddling clothes (cf. 2.5, 17, 19). And the prophetess Anna is said to speak (2.38) but strangely her words, unlike the detailed speech of Simeon (2.29-32), are not rendered. Even the ordering of time, beginning with the imperial synchronism of 2.1-2 (cf. 3.1-2) appears highly patriarchal in orientation again, and the Temple resurfaces as a primary marker of time and place of action (2.22, 37, 41-50).

Did Luke *want* to silence women again and erase the traces of the previous chapter's rebellious mother-time and brotherly-sisterly order—or did he *have to do* that? Did he write his account of Christian beginnings as they actually happened, or how his readership (or part of it) was supposed to understand them? Is the Lukan text a 'window' behind which the historical facts become recognizable or is it the mirror of a fictive historicity according to the image of 'Theophilus'?

This speaks again to the rhetorical program defined by Luke himself in his initial address: recognition of *security* (ἀσφάλεια) for a man addressed as 'most excellent' (κράτιστε) Theophilus. Suppose this address really points to the circle of high-ranking Roman officials in Acts, like the 'most excellent' governor Felix and the 'most excellent' Festus (Acts 23.26; 24.3; 26.25) whom the Lukan Paul meets as custodians of the *pax romana* and the Roman emperor's 'ante-chamber officials'.

20. On the controversy concerning the applicability of Ernst Troeltsch's concept of love patriarchalism to the early Christian context, see Schottroff, *Lydia's Impatient Sisters*, pp. 3-5 and Luzia Sutter-Rehmann, *Geh – Frage die Gebärerin: Feministisch-befreiungstheologische Untersuchungen zum Gebärmotiv in der Apokalypse* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995), pp. 136-47.

Already a Roman prisoner and on his way to confront Caesar, Paul tries to convince them that the messianic age is not so dangerous and 'insecure' as they might have come to believe. If the reading of a text is crucially determined by the sociopolitical location and interests of its readers, it may be assumed that 'Theophilus' felt considerably more 'secure' in reading the Benedictus in Lk. 2 than in reading the Magnificat in Lk. 1. The theological proclamation of Zechariah—followed in Acts by a long sequence of other male speeches—fits infinitely better into the order and the 'peace' of the *imperium romanum* than the subversive 'women speeches' and the concomitant goings on in Zechariah's house three months before.

But is 'Theophilus' really the only model reader of Luke? What would happen, for example, if it were Lydia from Roman Philippi, whom we meet in Acts 16.14-15, a prominent nodal point in the missionary history of Paul? What if Lydia were to come across Luke's writing? A woman, the head of a commune of women who cooperatively work for their livelihood, giving protection to the two missionaries Paul and Silas[21] would she and her house, in which no father rules as 'head', not justifiably read Lk. 1 as the theological manifesto of precisely this new order and 'community of equals'? Yes, this is a purely hypothetical reflection; still, Lk. 1.24-56 and Acts 16.13-15, 40 permit the assumption that around Luke, next to the 'Theophilus' type of reader, there was also the highly different 'Lydia' type and a context of counterculture and opposition.[22]

Does this hand over the text and its lecture to the free play of interpretation and (postmodern) arbitrariness? Is the correctness of a reading determined exclusively by the readers and their respective reading interests that themselves have to be interpreted within the context of social and political praxis? Is the text open to (almost) every interpretation?

### *Reading Luke 1 against Luke 2: The Manifest Latency of a 'Critical Principle'*

If one follows the analysis of the text thus far, then the episode of naming the boy John in Luke 1.59-66 has, indeed, two faces. The text, as it were,

21. On Lydia's household in Acts 16, see Ivoni Richter Reimer, *Women in the Acts of the Apostles: A Feminist Liberation Perspective* (trans. L. Maloney; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), pp. 71-149.

22. This is confirmed, against his intentions, by Origen in his *Contra Celsum* 3.55 where he discusses the charge that in their missionary work in private homes and particularly in 'women's quarters', Christians undermine the position of fathers and teachers.

looks forward to *Theophilus* as a reader written into the text, as well as the emperor 'reading along' (cf. Acts 25.11; 27.32), who are both to be brought to a new way of reading the events of the Christian beginnings in light of Roman 'security'. Historically speaking, one could see such an 'accommodation' of the Christian story to 'the court' as a matter of conformity to the ruling powers or, rather, as one of elementary survival.

But the text also looks backward to Mary and Elizabeth and thereby ahead to Lydia who obviously were not only constitutive for Christian beginnings 'from the very first', but also in the congregations contemporary to Luke. The stories that Luke tells are simultaneously a testimony to a liberating history of women and to its suppression by (love) patriarchalism. With this Janus-headedness, the writing-tablet episode—and, as has to be assumed, the entire two-volume work of Luke—is the virtually classic form of 'compromising' between Roman patriarchy and the early Christian community of equals: an intersection of contrasting chains of association under the dominance of 'Caesar', but open to be reclaimed by mutually antagonistic positions.[23]

Among feminist scholars who have observed this fundamental ambiguity of the Lukan text, there has been a polar tendency either to ignore the patriarchal side of Luke or to restrict oneself to criticizing it when it comes to concrete textual work.[24] Is there a 'third way'? Rather than assuming too quickly and too simply a 'unity' of the text—either negatively or positively—one would first have to study how its heterogeneity works: not only that the text is composed of diverse elements, but which 'oppositions' exactly are Luke's 'positions' built upon, and what significance is given to these voices of 'self-contradiction' in the narrative arrangement. For the most remarkable thing about Luke is that next to the compromise he seeks, or possibly had to achieve with the 'upper levels' of the *imperium romanum*, he provides, in the first chapter of his story of the beginning, something like a set of directions for an opposite reading of the text, from the perspective of an egalitarian, horizontal 'below'.

If the analysis of the text is done on the basis of the semiotic quadrangle, and the actual content of its narrative is seen as the transition from A to B as the father's turning to the son, then this 'conversion' is only on the surface of the text a 'male-focused' process. In the semantic and narrative depth-structure, however, where the 'dynamics of repulsion' of

23. The notion of 'compromising' in Freud's dream theory and of mutually antagonistic positions reclaiming the same text has been applied to ideological and religious formations by Wolfgang Fritz Haug, *Commodity Aesthetics, Ideology & Culture* (New York: International General, 1987); [page 198], cf. n. 4 of this article, p. 72.

24. Cf. note 9, p. 74 this article.

non-B and non-A create the essential impulse that moves the action from A to B, a radical negation of the order of the fathers takes place. That negation 'sustains' the messianic new beginning achieved in B. Put differently, the nine-month-long period of the father's penalization, and its flip-side, the nine-month-long pregnancies of the mothers (non-A) are the 'matter' from which the messianic new beginning is created. This is an act of creative negation, a *creatio ex nihilo* as it were. The narrative structure inscribes position non-A, that is, the subversive memory of a 'different' time and order, into the subsequent synthesis as a permanently opposing element.

This anchors the correctness of *Lydia's* (counter-)reading in the very center of the patriarchal compromise. Luke allows himself to be read 'from back to front'; he provides, in a way, the impetus for a feminist-critical relecture of Luke against Luke. This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that Luke locates the real beginning, the *principium* of the Christian era, nowhere else but in the 'fatherless' part of the narrative in non-A: 'in the sixth month' (1.26). The 'real' beginning of the story of the 'Lord' Jesus does not take place in the time of the Lords Herod, Augustus, Tiberius, Annas and Caiaphas (cf. 1.5; 2.1-2; 3.1-2) but according to a chronology of pregnancy that binds together two women and two yet-to-be-born men in a brotherly-sisterly, egalitarian manner. Yes, beginning with Lk. 1.59, the order of time is once again constituted by the male. But the time of the mothers' speaking remains invisibly present within the now initiated time of the son and of the once again speaking fathers. The non-A, suppressed and latent in B, is the open crack in the compromise of (love) patriarchalism through which the Messiah can enter into the (hi)story at any time.

### *The Non-Uniformity of the Text and the 'Scriptural Principle'*

The Magnificat establishes Mary as the founder of Christian theology. She proclaims the gospel of the poor as the first and, thus, norm-setting interpretation of the Christ event. She relates it 'from the beginning' and, hence, 'in principle' with the gospel of women—and children. In the subsequent course of Luke's narrative, this gospel of the poor and of women is, in a way, replaced by a gospel of the Gentiles that might appear to be socially much more indifferent and even acceptable to 'kings' (cf. Acts 9.15). In this gospel and its proclamation, women remain largely silent and invisible. But beginnings are not something arbitrary; particular positions in the narrative structure are not simply interchangeable. The text analysis of Lk. 1 provides scholarly legitimation for using Lk. 1.24-57 as the main connecting thread for the subsequent reading of

the entire Lukan corpus. It is a 'key', so to speak, that determines, like a clef in music, how patriarchal texts can and must be transposed in a manner that does justice to women and the poor.[25] When 'Lydia' and her later sisters and brothers read Luke against Luke as 'resisting readers' and in memory of Elizabeth and Mary, then this counter-reading is 'from the very first' and on principle Scripture based.

25. Concerning the function of codes and key structures in the Bible as a whole, see also my 'Toward a Materialist Reading', in Fiorenza (ed.), *Searching the Scriptures*, I, pp. 225-40, here pp. 236-39.

# THE VIRGIN MOTHER: MARY AND ASCETIC DISCIPLESHIP IN LUKE

Turid Karlsen Seim

It is not easy to read what the canonical gospels tell about Mary, the mother of Jesus, without having one's perspective blurred by later Mariology. Is a fresh look at all possible? The paucity of the early material may seem to have tempted many interpreters to pursue what they, in the light of doctrinal developments, regard as a potential of meaning in the New Testament passages themselves.

The doctrinal construction of Mary as the Virgin Mother has also induced some Christian women to find themselves called to meet an ideal which is in fact unachievable. Neither an ascetic woman nor a mother can possibly match her terms. A virgin mother represents in herself a contradiction. In Greek terminology a woman was παρθένος (virgin) until she was married (penetrated), and she remained a νυμφή, a bride, until she gave birth. Only then did she become γυνή, a (married) woman. Motherhood was constitutive to being fully a woman.

In recent times New Testament interpreters[1] have tried to soften the problem of Mary's unattainable status by focusing less on her virginity and by emphasizing those features in the biblical portrait that are within human reach: she is the mother of sorrows (*mater dolorosa*), with her heart broken and her soul pierced as she mourns the death of her child – the prototypical image of women's suffering and pain. Or she is the ideal disciple whose ready obedience to God's will and whose pondering on the divine message is exemplary not only for women but also for men.

In the following interpretation of the Lukan portrayal of Mary, her

1. See the studies by S. Cunneen, *In Search of Mary: The Woman and the Symbol* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1996); further Beverly Gaventa, *Mary: Glimpses of the Mother of Jesus* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), who also explores the position of various churches. The move toward emphasizing Mary as the ideal disciple is evident in Raymond E. Brown *et al.* (eds.), *Mary in the New Testament: A Collaborative Assessment by Protestant and Roman Catholic Scholars* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), and before that in H. Räisänen, *Die Mutter Jesu im Neuen Testament* (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae ser B, 158; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedakatemia, 1969; repr. 1989).

virginity and the understanding of discipleship cannot be separated. The role of Mary is cast to serve the advocacy of an ascetic discipleship also for women. Discipleship represents, even in her case, a transferred and alternative motherhood bearing the fruit of God's word. Motherhood is thereby dissociated from actual childbirth as the virgin becomes the mother of God's favor.[2]

### *Asceticism and Motherhood in Luke*

Elsewhere I have argued that Luke–Acts belongs to an ascetic stream within early Christianity.[3] In the synoptic tradition eschatological expectations are rendered with an acute imminence, and family relationships and the function of procreation seem to be especially affected. The normal structures upon which one would depend for daily support and future security and preservation are no longer dependable. Values that are normally cherished become a threat; blessing is turned to curse.

It is often assumed that in the course of tradition the imminence of the eschaton is mitigated, and that in the writings of Luke the eschaton is suspended and replaced by a prolonged historical perspective nurturing institutional structures and a moral interest. The radical ethos of abandonment is converted to an ethics of care and charity. But Luke has no program of restoring family values. Rather the postponement of the eschaton is compensated by an ascetic morality as a proleptic assimilation to the life of the resurrected. The life to come is being expressed in the present by those 'who have been considered worthy of a place in that age and the resurrection from the dead' and thus already refrain from matrimony (Lk. 20.34-36). Not only does Luke adopt contemporary philosophical ideals of self-control and temperance, but this adoption is also combined with ideas shared by Hellenistic Judaism about the angelic life in paradise which may be rehearsed ascetically.[4] In view of the coming

2. In 'The Milk of Salvation: Redemption by the Mother in Late Antiquity and Early Christianity' *HTR* 82 (1989), pp. 393-420, Gail P. Corrington has explored the nursing motif and, especially drawing on patristic material, makes a similar observation. However, she also regards virginity in Luke as a way women have of 'becoming male'.

3. T.K. Seim, *The Double Message: Patterns of Gender in Luke–Acts* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994), pp. 185-248, and more recently in 'Children of the Resurrection: Angelic Asceticism in Luke–Acts', in L. Vaage and V. Wimbush (eds.), *Asceticism and the New Testament* (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 115-25, of which the following is a brief and limited exposition.

4. More generally, I see Luke as deeply embedded in a context shaped by

resurrection and the immortality achieved, the need to overcome death by procreation is no longer urgent.

Luke's critical attitude to marriage is not due to practical considerations; it is not based on claims that the demands of married life are burdensome and lead to a divided attention as Paul argues in 1 Cor. 7. Luke–Acts may reflect the same or a similar situation as the the Pastoral Letters, but what poses a problem for the pastor is supported by Luke. In Luke–Acts there is no deference for marriage and motherhood; women are certainly not saved through their childbearing (1 Tim. 2.15), that is, through submission to their role in procreation.

On his way to the cross, Jesus prophesies that the daughters of Jerusalem will praise as blessed the barren, the wombs that never bore and the breasts that never gave suck. These words to the lamenting women in Lk. 23.27-31 include a negative form of a beatitude which is positively stated in Lk. 11.27: 'Blessed is the womb that bore you and the breasts that you sucked.' The closeness between these two sayings is confirmed by *Gos. Thom.* 79, where the two variants are connected so that the blessing of the barren serves as the justification of the preceding words which correspond to Lk. 11.28. The redefinition is thereby given both a positive grounding and a negative, and the juxtapposition creates an ascetic impression.[5]

The passage in Lk. 23.27-31 has been intensively discussed.[6] Disagreement is concerned both with who these daughters of Jerusalem are and/or whom they represent, and with whether Jesus' words to them are words of judgment, consolation or warning. Some see the women as faithful followers of Jesus or as women in Jerusalem who traditionally undertook certain functions at executions such as wailing for the victims. Others give them symbolic significance as the personified presence of 'the element of Israel which continually rejected God's messenger' or of

Hellenistic Judaism. In the infancy narratives especially he writes the Greek of the LXX traditions and weaves complicated intertextual patterns.

5. So both Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke X–XXIV* (AB, 28; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), p. 1494; and P. Nagel, *Die Motivierung der Askese in der alten Kirche und der Ursprung des Mönchtums* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 95; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1966), p. 26.

6. Cf. Jerome Neyrey, *The Passion According to Luke: A Redaction Study of Luke's Soteriology*, (New York: Paulist Press, 1985), pp. 109-21; and C.H. Giblin's discussion with him in *The Destruction of Jerusalem According to Luke's Gospel* (AnBib, 107; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1985), pp. 95-104. Marion L. Soards, *The Passion according to Luke: The Special Material of Luke 22* (JSNTSup, 14; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), pp. 222-43, gives a good overview of the debate.

Jerusalem in distinction from the people as a whole.[7] This would mean that the daughters of Jerusalem represent the part of Israel which denies Jesus. When the Messiah they reject leaves the city on the way to his death, he utters a prophetic word of judgment on them similar to earlier words of judgment on Jerusalem in Lk. 13.34-35 and 19.41-44. The identification of the women and the understanding of what Jesus' words imply are thus closely interwoven in most interpretations.

The scene is not marked by mutual rejection or dismissal. The women seem to have sympathy with Jesus, and there is no indication that the crowd and the women should be in opposition to each other. Neither do Jesus' words condemn the women. Much in the same way as in Lk. 11.27-28, Jesus rather diverts the praise or sympathy to a contrasting statement with a more general scope, as is clear also from the use of the third and not the second person. The women are victims of the catastrophe and not its cause, either concretely or symbolically. This is why they will weep over themselves and their children while they will praise as blessed those whom they would normally lament—the barren and childless women. The turbulence and horror of the coming time of tribulation render normal life impossible and indeed inadequate or irrelevant.

This is also expressed in Lk. 21.23 in the form of a cry of woe over those who are with child and those who give suck when the days of vengeance come. The beatitude and the cry of woe are opposite sides of the same coin: childlessness and not fertile maternity will be a blessing in the days to come. In Luke this is not an apocalyptic saying in the sense that it concerns a far future. It is a saying marking the urgency and liminal situation of life in the present. The contrast in Lk. 23 is not between the daughters of Jerusalem and the rest of the people, it is between these conventional women and the women following Jesus, the women disciples from Galilee—the ascetic mothers.

How does this ascetic impetus influence Luke's portrayal of Mary, the mother of Jesus? The positive form of the macarism in Lk. 11.27 concerns Mary specifically. A woman in the crowd praises Jesus by blessing his mother: 'the womb that bore you and the breasts that nursed you'. Her words recall those of Elizabeth in 1.42-45;[8] such a wonderful man makes

7. Neyrey, *Passion*, pp. 110-11. However, Fitzmyer, *Luke X-XXIV*, p. 1498, rightly emphasizes that the connotations here clearly diverge from the expression 'Daughter(s) of Zion/Jerusalem' in its metaphorical usage.

8. Both these benedictions are Lukan material. On the Lukan character of 11.27-28, see H. Zimmermann, 'Selig, die das Wort hören und es bewahren: Eine exegetische Studie zu Lk 11, 27f.' *Catholica* 29 (1975), pp. 114-19, discussion pp. 115-16. Zimmerman assumes that the benediction reflects conventional Jewish phraseology, but for this he draws on later rabbinic material such as *Gen. R.* 98. When P. Bemile, *The*

the woman who bore him worthy of praise. In its physicality it focuses on the maternal functions of the female body: womb and breasts. Jesus' reaction to this is a variation of his response at the family incident in 8.21. He subjects the woman's blessing to a critical appraisal when he corrects her by stating—again in general terms—that 'blessed are rather those who hear the word of God and keep it' (v. 28). The extent of critique involved depends on whether μενοῦν is taken as a marker of contrast or of escallation.[9] In any case, it is a correction and redirection from the blessings of physical maternity to the blessings of discipleship of which Mary, the virgin mother of Jesus, is the prototype.

## *Missing Joseph*

In Luke's two-volume work, Mary the mother of Jesus is the only character besides Jesus himself who appears in the infancy stories, in the major part of the gospel, and in Acts.[10] Her coming and going rather abruptly is something she has in common with other characters in Luke–Acts.[11] She is called by her name Μαρία (Mary) or identified as ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ/τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ('his mother'/'Jesus' mother') and twice do the two

*Magnificat within the Context and Framework of Lukan Theology: An Exgetical Study of Lk 1.46-55* (Regensburger Studien zu Theologie, 34; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1986), p. 233, supported by H. Schürmann (*Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den synoptischen Evangelien: Beiträge* [Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1968], p. 231), maintains that it is Q-material, this is primarily due to the desire that mariological elements go back to very old tradition.

9. Some reject that there is a contrast at all (Bemile, 'Magnificat', p. 234, and Zimmermann, 'Selig', p. 117). As with the family-friendly interpretations of 8.19-21, they see the benediction rather as corrected by being transcended, in that it is transferred from Jesus to God. Cf. also Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, p. 423.

10. It is therefore misleading when E.M. Tetlow, *Women and Ministry in the New Testament: Called to Serve* (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), pp. 102-103, claims that 'Luke did not make a connection between the role of women in the periods of Israel and Jesus and the period of the church'. Tetlow introduces also an unjustified distinction between 'Israel's faith' and 'Christian faith', thereby dismissing the faith of the women in the gospel as 'still the faith of Israel'. Also Mary Rose D'Angelo, '(Re)Presentation of Women in the Gospel of Matthew and Luke–Acts', in Ross S. Kraemer and M.R. D'Angelo (eds.), *Women and Christian Origins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 171-95 (186), echoes H. Conzelmann's construction of a three-period scheme in Luke–Acts and places Mary and Elizabeth in 'the period of the law and prophets' (H. Conzelmann, *Mitte de Zeit: Studien zur Theologie des Lukas* [BHT, 17; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1964]). This distances them from the reader, as does the observation that their stylistic marker is 'the formal and archaic character of their speech'.

11. An observation made by Gaventa, *Mary*, pp. 49-50.

forms of identification occur together (Lk. 2.34 and Acts 1.14).

Although Mary initially is introduced in terms of her relation to Joseph and only next by her own name (1.27), Luke's account of the annunciation and the birth of Jesus is focused on Mary in a way that almost completely eclipses Joseph.[12] The narrative intertwining of two parallel series of events, the one leading to the birth of John and the other to the birth of Jesus, makes this all the more clear. Mary's maternal role in the Jesus story corresponds to the role of Elizabeth in the John story, but she also parallels Zechariah as they both receive the divine annunciation of a wondrous conception. Compared with the infancy narrative in Matthew, the withdrawn role of Joseph is the more obvious. Matthew is far more concerned about the role of Joseph, and Joseph is a leading player and even at times the protagonist of the story.[13] Twice in his dream he receives an angelic message on which he acts faithfully (Mt. 1.20-25; 2.13-15).

Why then does the redundant Joseph figure in the Lukan infancy story at all? Obviously he was part of the tradition and also, according to Luke, he was Jesus' putative father as the careful formulation in 3.23 ('Joseph's assumed son') maintains. And only through Joseph is Jesus incorporated into David's descendants. So Mary and Joseph appear together as Jesus' parents (2.22-33, 41-51), and in Nazareth Jesus is regarded as Joseph's son (4.22). The infancy narrative is not as much a case of Joseph's absence as it is an exploration of what the divine fatherhood of Jesus entails. Brigitte Kahl combines these two features when she interprets the marginal role of Joseph as well as the disobedience and muting of Zechariah in Lk. 1 as emptying the place of the father and negating the paternal order.[14] The vacancy is filled not by the mothers

12. This is a common observation in most commentaries. Stevan Davies, 'Women in the Third Gospel and the New Testament Apocrypha', in Amy-Jill Levine (ed.), *'Women Like This': New Perspectives on Jewish Women in the Greco-Roman World* (SBL Early Judaism and Its Literature, 1; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), pp. 185-97, finds that because Elizabeth and Mary in Luke's two first chapters are the focus of attention and surpass the men to whom they are married or betrothed, these chapters, unlike other stories mentioning women in the two volumes, are similar to accounts of women found in the Apocryphal Acts. From this he further draws the (unconvincing) conclusion that these chapters were added as an introduction after the two volumes had been written.

13. D'Angelo, '(Re)presentations of Women', p. 177, explains this as a Matthean attempt to defend Mary from the charge of being a loose woman and Jesus from the charge of illegitimacy.

14. Brigitte Kahl, *Armenevangelium und Heidenevangelium: 'Sola scriptura' und die ökumenische Traditionsproblematik im Lichte von Väterkonflikt und Väterkonsens bei Lukas* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1987), pp. 106-108, 142-44

but by God. Temporarily it yet leaves a space where the women may act and speak prophetically and so mark the transition between the paternal and the divine order. In Lk. 2, however, fathers are reintroduced at the cost of the women; now they signal a spiritual fatherhood represented primarily by the prophet Simeon, who frames Mary as *mater dolorosa* (Lk. 2.35). The concluding story in Lk. 2.41-51 about the 12-year-old Jesus and his visit to Jerusalem at Passover together with his parents represents a major problem in Kahl's otherwise intriguing interpretation. It is the mother who at this point carries the voice of the parents and, furthermore, the introduction of a divine father and the belonging to this father's house happen at the cost of the father. In the wider Lukan narrative this story dispenses with Joseph and further serves as a premonition of how the family of Jesus, including his mother, will be treated later on in the gospel story.

### *Barrenness and Virginity – Shame and Honor*

The opening events appear to confirm that pregnancy and birthgiving represent the fulfillment of a woman's purpose in life. The miraculous pregnancies of the infancy narratives, where fertility and the birth of a male child are the result of divine intervention, echo conventional ideals and well-known stories. The case of Elizabeth and Zechariah especially reflects such traditions. They are righteous and faithful in their obedience to God's commandments. Nevertheless, they have not been blessed by having a child (1.6-7). Now they are both old, and Elizabeth is beyond her childbearing age. It is assumed that she is the barren one (1.7), and even if their childlessness causes both of them sorrow, it is her shame and disgrace (1.25). Zechariah has constantly prayed that a son be given him (1.13), and miraculously the old and barren Elizabeth will bear him one. His prayers have been answered when hope seemed to be absent. The narrative reflects the convention of a patriarchal tradition. The divine message is addressed exclusively to Zechariah in answer to his prayers, and he will have a male child by Elizabeth. God has chosen to be merciful and overcome the obstacles to the fulfillment of Zechariah's wish, that is, Elizabeth's barrenness and now also her old age. Elizabeth is freed from her disgrace when God hears Zechariah's prayer.

Elizabeth has her place in a largely traditional framework. She bears Zechariah his promised son, and it is Zechariah who praises God when after the birth he regains the power of speech. His temporary dumbness leaves Elizabeth a certain scope for action, but the naming of the infant depends ultimately on the father's explicit consent. Only in her relationship to Mary does Elizabeth appear on her own, even if it might be

claimed that ultimately the relationship is mediated through John's reaction to Jesus already in their mothers' wombs.[15]

The story alludes to a series of prominent models from the history of Israel. The Scriptures attest several examples of barren women, some of them also advanced in years, who by divine intervention yet gave birth to a male child. Pious perseverance and fidelity finally bore fruit. The stories seem to be designed according to a rather fixed literary pattern. J.G. Williams[16] distinguishes—perhaps too sharply—between two typical scenes, of which the first is more relevant for the infancy narratives in Luke. It is called 'promise to the barren wife', and it operates with these literary conventions: (1) the wife is barren; (2) a messenger from God appears; (3) the messenger promises a son; (4) the event is confirmed in spite of human doubt; (5) the promised son is born and given a significant name. The other type, 'the agony of the barren wife', derives its impetus from the motif of jealousy and rivalry between two women. While some stories present only the motif of jealousy (Gen. 18.1-15; Judg. 13.2-24; 2 Kgs 4.8-17), other stories are intensified by an added motif of rivalry (Gen. 16.1-6; 21.1-21; 29.31–30.24; 1 Sam. 1). The various pieces about Abraham, Hagar and Sarah show how the two types can be mixed as a tradition develops.

Drawing on much of the same material, Athalya Brenner has described a paradigm of 'birth of the hero' exemplified in two types of stories.[17] In one type, illustrated by stories such as those of Sarah and Hagar, and Leah and Rachel, two women share the ambition to bear a son to the same husband and they fight each other as rivals even after their sons are born. The second type is found in the stories about Naomi and Ruth and the birth of Moses, where the women do not compete but cooperate for the common good. The infancy narratives in Luke feature elements of both types.

The infancy stories in Luke allude especially to the story about Abraham and Sarah, but they exhibit also features from the stories of Rachel and Hannah.[18] The narrative conventions or the intertextuality of

15. This means that Kahl's interpretation (n. 14 above) is more adequate in the case of Elizabeth and Zechariah.

16. J.G. Williams, 'The Beautiful and the Barren: Conventions in Biblical Type-Scenes', *JSOT* 17 (1980), pp. 107-19, discussion p. 110.

17. Athalya Brenner, 'Female Social Behavior: Two Descriptive Patterns within the "Birth of Hero" Paradigm', *VT* 36 (1986), pp. 257-73, as referred to by Barbara E. Reid in *Choosing the Better Part? Women in the Gospel of Luke* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 1996), pp. 73-74.

18. As shown by Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in Matthew and Luke* (New York: Doubleday, 1977), pp. 268-69; cf.

all these stories make such a blend to be expected. The motifs of jealousy and rivalry between women, however, appear to be missing. The relationship between Elizabeth and Mary is portrayed as harmonious. They are not competing for the favor of the same man, and since they are both pregnant, the fertility of one over against the barenness of the other is not an issue. Elements that might involve mutual rivalry about importance and rank between the two are settled harmoniously, by means of Elizabeth's extraordinarily submissive greeting to the much younger Mary (1.42-45). The emphasis is on the collaboration of Mary and Elizabeth in the mutual support and acceptance of the role each has to play in salvation history.

While Elizabeth is an old, barren woman, Mary's virginal condition is accentuated. The very first characterization of her is that she is a παρθένος ('virgin'), and this is most immediately and repeatedly (twice in 1.27) pronounced. In referring to Mt. 25.1, 7, 11 and Acts 21.9, as well as to some extrabiblical usage, Beverly Gaventa suggests that to take the term παρθένος in a 'narrow biological sense is to miss the point here'.[19] Rather, it refers simply to a young, unmarried woman, a contrast to the old and barren Elizabeth. Gaventa recognizes that Mary's words in 1.34, 'How can this be since I know no man?'[20] recall the initial statement that Mary is a παρθένος, 'although here the emphasis does fall on Mary's biological virginity'.[21] There is no reason, however, why this statement about sexual chastity should not also within the Lukan context both recall and emphasize this particular dimension of παρθένος. Elsewhere I have argued that also Philip's virgin daughters in Acts 21.9 may be young, but primarily they represent another case of a certain affinity in Luke–Acts between chastity and prophecy.[22] With the exception of Elizabeth—a figure drawn in the scriptural mode of the barren wife—all

J. Drury, *Tradition and Design in Luke's Gospel: A Study in Early Christian Historiography* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1976), pp. 56-57.

19. Gaventa, *Mary*, p. 52; p. 76 n. 6. Among Gaventa's references, the only really convincing one is to Sophocles, 'Women of Thrachis', 1216-26, where the dying Heracles urges his son to marry the παρθένος of King Eurytus, who has already been Heracles' mistress (*Sophocles* [trans. F. Storr; LCL, 2 vols.; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 1912-13] 1.132-33; 2.354-55). For further discussion of the term, see J. Carmignac, 'Meaning of *parthenos* in Luke 1.27—A reply to C.H. Dodd', *BT* 28C (1977), pp. 327-30.

20. The NRSV translation reads 'since I am a virgin', but the term παρθένος is not in the Greek text.

21. Gaventa, *Mary*, p. 53.

22. Seim, *Double Message*, pp. 180-83.

the named female prophets in Luke–Acts are virgins or widows. Even the pregnant Mary combines chastity and the gift of prophecy.

What happens to Elizabeth comes first in the order of events. In Lk. 1.24-57 her pregnancy sets the chronology,[23] and this marks a narrative space where only women appear. Elizabeth's pregnancy also is to function as a sign for Mary (1.36-37). When Luke states that Elizabeth remains in seclusion for five months (1.24)—that is, until Mary comes to greet her—this is not because of shame, but as Raymond Brown has argued, 'a literary device to prepare for the sign to be revealed to Mary in 1.36'.[24] The sign dimension means that the well-known pattern which is echoed in Elizabeth's case provides an interpretive key to approach the story of Mary. But Mary's miraculous pregnancy surpasses Elizabeth's, as Elizabeth herself recognizes (1.42-45). The reason is, of course, that Jesus is greater than John. The virginal conception is in this perspective a miraculous escalation. There is, however, no reason to speculate about the various grades of difficulty in the two miracles. Both are contrary to normal experience even if people already knew stories about each.

Elizabeth's story may fit the best established pattern well known from the stories about the barren matriarchs. The story of Mary breaks with this.[25] Mary Callaway holds that ideas already formed in Jewish tradition of Jerusalem-as-mother associate fruitfulness with virginity and also attest the notion of a spiritual conception. The story about a virgin conceiving is therefore not a new and superior form of miraculous birth story, but rather a merger of all the traditions developed around the barren matriarchs and Jerusalem as mother: 'The story of the virgin birth cannot be understood apart from the matrix of traditions which linked Sarah, Jerusalem and the eschatological community'.[26] There are, however, no distinct traces of traditions about Jerusalem as a mother

23. Kahl, *Armenevangelium*, p. 91, speaks about 'eine Schwangerschaftschronologie'.

24. Brown, *Birth of the Messiah*, p. 282, rejecting many theological as well as psychological speculations about why Elizabeth would want to hide. D. Daube, 'Shame Culture in Luke', in M. Hooker and C.H. Wilson (eds.), *Paul and Paulinism: Essays in Honor of C.K. Barrett* (London: SPCK, 1982), pp. 355-72, 353, interestingly holds that her seclusion is an expression of Luke's focus on shame and ridicule: 'shame avoids sight'. However, this is to miss the point that her shame and disgrace have been removed, and her hiding serves therefore, as stated above, a different purpose.

25. Brown, *Birth of the Messiah*, pp. 296-98; Williams, 'The Beautiful and the Barren', p. 110.

26. Mary Callaway, *Sing, O Barren One: A Study in Comparative Midrash* (SBLDS, 91; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), p. 106. For more of Callaway's discussion, see the whole chapter on spiritual conception, pp. 91-114, including an interpretation of Paul's use of Sarah and Jerusalem in Gal. 4.21-31.

conceiving by the spirit in Luke's account. And while Luke clearly insists on a virginal conception in Mary's case,[27] Luke does not entertain the later idea that there not only was a virginal conception but a virginal birth as well, so that Mary remained an 'eternal virgin' also in the biological sense.

Neither is there any suggestion in the Lukan story of a 'spiritual' or metaphorical/allegorical interpretation of Mary's birth, even if the child was conceived by God's spirit. The child born is a child of flesh and blood. Within Hellenistic Judaism at the time, the idea about the 'fruit of the spirit' is developed by Philo through an allegorical interpretation of the story of the conception and birth of Isaac, the one whom God directly endowed with virtue (*Somn.* 1.168; *Abr.* 52-53). In several of his writings Philo employs the idea that the married but infertile Sarah must become a virgin again or even be a virgin in order for Isaac to be conceived by divine intervention (*Congr.* 6-7; *Praem. Poen.* 158-159). This serves an allegorical interpretation in the interest of moral and spiritual development. The figures in the stories signify virtues some of which 'are ever virgin, some pass from womanhood to virginity as Sarah did: for it ceased to be with her after the manner of women, at the time when she first conceives Isaac, the happiness personified' (*Poster. C.* 134). Sarah is virtue itself, and Isaac is the one whom God has directly endowed with virtue—without human effort. Virginity is, in these passages in Philo, primarily a state of impassionate detachment, and of a purity passively receptive and available only to God. However, as Mary Callaway has pointed out, Philo does not always draw a distinction between barrenness and virginity to emphasize divine intervention or even conception.[28]

Dale Allison has explored how what he calls 'the haggadic imagination' speculates about the supernatural circumstances of Moses' conception and delivery, and that in rabbinic sources Moses' birth is associated with a new and miraculous beginning.[29] It is, however, only faintly

27. I am thus not convinced by Jane Schaberg, *The Illegitimacy of Jesus: A Feminist Theological Interpretation of the Infancy Narratives* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987), pp. 78-144, who claims that Luke, like Matthew, does not present a virginal conception but theologizes a tradition that Jesus was illegitimately conceived. Zealous for Mary's honor, Luke performs this task beautifully and conventionally in a manner suited to deceive men in a man's world, and the motif of discipleship is subsumed under this. Whatever the earlier tradition about Jesus' origin may have been—and here Schaberg may well be right—in Luke it is presented as divinely and virginally conceived.

28. Callaway, *Sing, O Barren One*, pp. 94-100

29. Dale C. Allison, *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), pp. 146-50.

possible that the mysterious circumstances entailed a virginal conception.

In Lk. 1–2, the social implications of Mary's virginity may appear to be more immediately important than any symbolic suggestions. Symbolically, virginity and barrenness may be related, but socially, virginity does not match barrenness. There is a decisive difference between the infertility of a married woman who ought to be able to conceive and the virginal state of a young, betrothed girl whose purity should remain untouched until marriage. Whereas childlessness for a married woman meant sorrow and shame, which are removed by pregnancy, the opposite is true of a virgin.

David Daube is one of the very few scholars who have considered the aspect of shame in this context.[30] He sees a precedent in the story about Ruth and Boaz, about which rabbinic interpretation suggests that what might seem to be immoral actually represents the height of morality. But this still does not explain why morality is not an issue in Luke's account; further, in Ruth's case, violation of virginity is not involved. Mary's virginal betrothed status implies a situation in which pregnancy provides neither happiness nor security, but is an unseemly moral and legal offense. This is also how she differs most from Elizabeth. Mary's story therefore confronts the conventional patriarchal values that Elizabeth's story recapitulates.

Elizabeth's praise of Mary and her child (Lk. 1.42-45) reflects the values of her own story. Nevertheless, there is an ambiguity in the choice of words and in the double exclamation in vv. 42 and 45. Mary is blessed among women because she believed that what was said to her by God's messenger would happen. There is not as yet any tension between her obedient faith in the word of God and her role as a mother. To this point, the two seem to reinforce each other.

Both Mary's virginity and Elizabeth's barrenness and advanced age are obstacles that God overcomes. But it does not seem reasonable to maintain that Mary's virginity, in a manner similar to Elizabeth's infertility, represents her weakness and humble position (ταπείνωσις) that God transforms into strength (1.48).[31] Instead, in contrast to Elizabeth, pregnancy in Mary's situation would not entail strength and honor, but shame, degradation and further humiliation. Her humbleness should, therefore, in this regard be interpreted as a social category, which is in accord with the ethos of the Magnificat (1.48-55). It is also a significant feature of silence that Mary is not introduced by a set of respectable

30. D. Daube, 'Shame Culture', p. 363.

31. As assumed by Callaway, *Sing, O Barren One*, pp. 102-105, supported by L. Legrand, *La Virginité dans la Bible* (LD, 39; Paris: Cerf, 1964), pp. 117-18.

credentials such as those pertaining to Zechariah and Elizabeth in 1.5-7, even though she is related to them and engaged to a Davidic descendent.

In her virginal vulnerability she is among those on whom God has looked with favor (1.48). This is how the Spirit works in Luke–Acts—in wondrous ways that reverse social status and overcome objections. The more remarkable is the fact that Luke's version of the infancy narrative hardly seems to reflect the potential shame of a spoiled and soiled virgin. Why is this not an issue in Luke? In Matthew's version, it features prominently, and the pending social scandal is seen to be Joseph's problem (Mt. 1.19). As a righteous man, he considers divorce. But because he does not wish to put Mary to public shame, he is resolved to carry the process through in a discreet manner, whatever that might mean. Only a revelation in a dream brings him to accept what would otherwise be unacceptable.

Luke shows no trace of similar considerations. While Elizabeth speaks of her barrenness as a disgrace, Mary never harbors this concern. Instead, she simply wonders how her conceiving a child may possibly happen, since she is a virgin. As soon as she receives the explanation, she willingly makes herself available. Mary will conceive as the Holy Spirit will come upon her, and the power of the Most High will overshadow her.[32]

The major point for Luke seems to be Mary's virginity, after all. Instead of being an obstacle and a moral problem, it is a positive condition, a required one, and an expression of election.

### *Spirit and Responsive Obedience*

There is a certain correspondence between the activity of the Spirit in the infancy narrative and in the first chapters of Acts.[33] The messenger's

32. It is unlikely that these are terms of sexual intecourse, cf. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part?*, p. 68; and H. Räisänen, *Die Mutter Jesu*, pp. 103-104. Some develop it to prefigure the resurrection, cf. Callaway, *Sing, O Barren One*, p. 103; and Legrand, *Virginité*, pp. 114-15, who refers to πνεῦμα ζῳοποιοῦν. The reference is more specifically to Rom. 1.4. However, Rom. 1.3-4 clearly distinguishes between Jesus' descent from David through his birth κατὰ σάρκα ('according to the flesh') and his being established as God's son through the resurrection. Paul nowhere seems to assume the virginal conception or birth.

33. Robert Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke–Acts* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1982), p. 141. R. Laurentin, *The Truth of Christmas: Beyond the Myths: The Gospels of the Infancy of Christ* (Petersham, MA: St Bede's, 1986), pp. 61, 458, calls the infancy narrative 'Proto-Pentecost'. Brown, *Birth of the Messiah*, p. 466, explains this similarity by assuming that 'the *Anawin* of the infancy narratives are so close to the Jerusalem community of Acts'.

words to Mary in Lk. 1.35 that the 'Spirit will come upon [her] and the power of the most high overshadow [her]' are strikingly similar to Jesus' promise of the Spirit to the disciples in Lk. 24.49 that they 'will be clothed with power from on high', and especially in Acts 1.8: 'you will receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you'.[34] This promise is fulfilled at Pentecost when every one of the group of disciples is filled with the Spirit. That all of them are present and receive the gift of the Spirit is repeatedly underlined, and this naturally includes the women mentioned in Acts 1.14.[35] Mary the mother of Jesus is among them. The women of Pentecost have their forerunners in Mary, Elizabeth, and Anna, who speak in the Spirit and prophesy in Lk. 1–2. Mary also becomes a connecting figure as the Spirit again comes upon her.

In Acts 2, Luke interprets the pouring out of the Spirit at Pentecost in light of Joel 3.1-5, which is carefully and extensively quoted. The personal pronoun μου in the statement about the slaves/servants (δοῦλοι/δοῦλαι) (Acts 2.18) emphasizes that it applies to male and female slaves/servants of the Lord, and Luke further specifies that when the Spirit is given to them, they will speak prophetically. Prophesying women are thus a sign of the Spirit's moving in the last days.[36]

In response to the messenger's words about the overshadowing by the Spirit (Lk. 1.35), Mary presents herself as ἡ δούλη κυρίου, the maidservant/slave of the Lord, and she submits her will to the will of God: 'Let it be with me according to your word' (Lk. 1.38). On the few other occasions when Luke employs δούλος/δούλη to designate the relationship of humans to God, it is always connected to the Spirit (Lk. 1.48; 2.29; Acts 2.18; 4.29; 16.17[?]). The Spirit marks out God's total right of disposal, but it does not reduce humans to puppets. Individuals can choose to respond positively or negatively, but the Holy Spirit is given only to 'those who obey God' (Acts 5.32).

The obedient and responsive attitude is not a particularly female requirement encouraging passivity. Mary is rather the prototype of the

34. Räisänen, *Mutter Jesu*, pp. 101-102.

35. The implication of this is, of course, that the 120 mentioned in Acts 1.15 who constitute the electorial assembly are a more limited and probably all-male group. For further argumentation on this, see Seim, *Double Message*, pp. 164-66.

36. In his *Dialogue with Trypho* (87.6–88.1), Justin apologetically entertains the argument that Joel 3.1 (in the MT [Heb.]; Joel 2.28 [NRSV]) is fulfilled among Christians because they have among them both men and women with gifts of the Spirit. Justin's mode of expression is all the more interesting in that he combines Joel 3.1 (MT; 2.28 NRSV) with the terminology of Gen. 1.26 (alluded to in Gal. 3.28). The 'Introduction' (by Tertullian?) to *The Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas* defends the significance of Perpetua's visions by a reference to Joel 3.

Lord's servant, and this role is signaled by her obedient relationship to the word of God. Two further remarks about Mary in the infancy narratives repeat that she treasures the divine messages in her heart and ponders them (Lk. 2.18-19, 51). The special form of expression in these brief passages indicates that Mary does not immediately understand what is said but takes good care of the words in such a way that she continues to contemplate their meaning.[37]

It has been commonly accepted that Luke presents Mary as an exemplary disciple, a Christian prototype.[38] How is it then possible for Mary to be both Jesus' mother and an ideal disciple? Beverly Gaventa distinguishes between three different roles that apply to Mary in Luke–Acts: mother, prophet, and disciple. She sees these roles as overlapping rather than competing.[39]

However, there are Lukan passages that seem to contrast Mary's role and right as a biological mother with that of a disciple. In Lk. 8.21, the attempt of Jesus' family, explicitly his mother and his brothers, to lay claim to him is rejected. The infancy narrative ends with a story already referred to above, about the boy Jesus in the Temple (Lk. 2.41-51[52]). The incident helps demonstrate both that Jesus is an alien in his parents' house and that his filial obedience is an act of willful subservience; thus, it suspends the day when he will cause them hurt. In this story neither parent is named, and apart from the last mention of Jesus' mother treasuring things in her heart (2.51) the parents appear as a unit. But it is significant that the story mainly affects Joseph since it introduces the question of the fatherhood of Jesus and his belonging. When Mary eventually speaks, she refers to Joseph as Jesus' father (2.48), but in his response, Jesus implicitly confronts this identification by referring to the Temple as his 'father's house', and by insisting that this house is where he belongs.

In the next family-related scene (Lk. 8.19-21), Joseph no longer takes part; only Jesus' mother and siblings appear. Once again, his mother is

37. Fitzmyer, *Luke, I–X*, p. 413, explores the rare use of Greek verbs and explains that it is partly but not wholly due to the influence of the language of the LXX. Brown *et al.*, *Mary in the New Testament*, pp. 150-57, rejects a claim in the New Testament that these remarks indicate that Mary is an eyewitness source for this account.

38. Fitzmyer, *Luke I–X*, p. 341; Räisänen, *Mutter Jesu*, p. 154. Also F.J. Moloney, *Woman: First among the Faithful: A New Testament Study* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1985), pp. 34-56. This interpretation of the role of Mary in Luke also gained ecumenical significance through the publication of Brown *et al.*, *Mary in the New Testament*, pp. 105-77.

39. Gaventa, *Mary*, p. 49-50. The title of the chapter on Mary in Luke–Acts is in fact 'Disciple, Prophet, and Mother'.

not mentioned by name but characterized by her relationship to Jesus: the focus is not on her person but on her motherhood. Jesus challenges the claims of his family by transferring the categories of kinship to another group: 'My mother and my brothers are those who hear the word of God and do it'. Compared, however, to Mk 3.31-35 and Mt. 12.46-50, Luke renders this statement in a shortened version that is more inclusive of Jesus' biological family. The rhetorical question 'who are my mother and brothers?' is missing in Luke. Nor does the Lukan scene include any gesture of supersessionist election marking the disciples as Jesus' new family. No group, neither the biological family nor the crowd nor the disciples, is given a privileged position. They are all potentially included. The proclamation neither excludes nor elects; it simply states what is required of anyone who will belong to the family of Jesus.

While in Mark the parable of the sower follows Jesus' rejection of his family, it precedes the comparable scene in Luke. This Lukan placement eliminates the immediate cause given in Mark for why Jesus' family seeks him: they want to restrain him because of the popular opinion that he is mad. For Luke their errand is of no interest. The story rather pursues the question of the parable about the soil on which the seed, the word of God, will fall. The good soil is 'the ones who, when they hear the word, hold it fast in an honest and good heart, and bear fruit with patient endurance' (Lk. 8.15). They are the family of Jesus.

The point is not to confront Jesus' mother and his brothers to the advantage of others present, but rather it is to transform and transfer kinship categories on the basis of given criteria. Jesus does not necessarily abandon his family.[40] The option is kept open for them to find their place in the new family but without any prerogative or privilege. Like everyone else, they should fulfill the criteria of hearing God's word and doing it. Indications elsewhere in Luke–Acts suggest they do: both Jesus' mother and his brothers belong to the early

40. W.C. Robinson, 'On Preaching the Word of God (Luke 8.4-21)', in L.E. Keck and J.L. Martyn, *Studies in Luke–Acts* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), pp. 131-38; discussion at pp. 133 and 137, also points to the fact that Luke's story of Jesus' rejection in Nazareth includes the saying that a prophet is not welcome in his hometown, but leaves out 'by his own kin and in his own house' (Mk 6.4). In his commentary, Fitzmyer tones down the rejection by regarding the new family as transcending, not replacing, the old (*Luke I–IX*, p. 723). Raymond E. Brown (*Birth of the Messiah*, pp. 371-78), even insists that Lk. 8.21 is an expression of praise for the faith of the mother and his brothers, and also Ben Witherington III wants to soften the harshness of the episode; see his *Women in the Ministry of Jesus: A Study of Jesus' Attitudes to Women and Their Roles as Reflected in His Earthly Life* (SNTSMS, 51; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 16, 140-41 n. 48.

community of believers in Jerusalem (Acts 1.14). But their relationship to Jesus is redefined, and they belong together only on the provision that they meet the criteria of the new kinship group.

### *Virgin Mothers*

The transfer of family terms signals that a new group is formed. Even the honorary state of motherhood—which was essential to the meaning and status of a woman's life—is replaced by a relationship that is differently defined. Motherhood is shaped by discipleship, and discipleship by motherhood.

It may seem that Luke omits the sister in the new family of Jesus. Mark and Matthew both include a full list of brother, sister, and mother in their version of this logion, thereby breaking the exact correspondence to the mention of the members of the family as they enter the scene. Luke is consistent and stays content with the mother and brothers also in Lk. 8.21. It is not likely that this is a Lukan attempt to render women disciples invisible. Not only is his mother still there,[41] the immediate context (Lk. 8.1-3) makes clear that the group following Jesus consisted of women as well as men. This is a particular engendered expression of parallel patterns in the Lukan composition.[42]

The intriguing question is whether there is any particular significance to the fact that the primary female category is mother and not sister, even though it may be that the plural ἀδέλφοι is meant to include both men and women. The primary category emphasizes the special role that Mary, the virgin mother of Jesus, plays as an ideal disciple. As Mary's prototypical role is converted from that of a mother with conventional rights to a motherhood constituted exclusively by the fruitful reception of the word of God, her role ceases to be limited to her; it becomes a possibility for all women who hear God's word and do it. Motherhood is dissociated from actual birth and the sexual role of woman in reproduction. But at the same time, the reproductive role is metaphorically exploited as God is cast as the male agent who sows the seed of the word in the soil of her heart. The ascetic women bear the fruit of God's word implanted in them, and a scenario of ascetic discipleship framed as alternative and, in the end, spiritual motherhood is introduced.

41. Tetlow, *Women and Ministry*, p. 137, supports the view that Luke constantly silences women and makes them invisible. In this case, she assumes that Jesus' mother could not be avoided even had Luke so wanted.

42. For a further explanation, see D'Angelo, '(Re)Presentations of Women', pp. 182-84; Seim, *Double Message*, pp. 11-24.

# 'Do You See This Woman?': A Liberative Look at Luke 7.36-50 and Strategies for Reading Other Lukan Stories against the Grain*

Barbara E. Reid

## *'What is in Front of our Eyes'*

In her poem 'Contact Lenses' Audre Lorde speaks about coming to see differently, of moving from a time when seeing 'was a matter of what was in front of my eyes matching what was behind my brain'.[1]

Feminist hermeneutics not only asks whether 'what is in front of our eyes' matches 'what is behind our brains', but it also raises questions about how 'what is in front of our eyes' and 'what is behind our brains' got there and through whose lenses it has been filtered. In this essay I would like to engage in a Rorschach experiment with the text of Lk. 7.36-50. My thesis is that the text itself deals with the issue of perception as it relates to faith in Jesus. The key verse is Lk. 7.44, 'Do you see this woman?' It offers a challenge and an invitation to conversion, not only to Simon, but to contemporary believers as well. Peeling away cataracts formed by gender bias and misguided presuppositions allows us to 'see much better', even if it makes our eyes hurt.

## *Seeing as a Metaphor for Faith*

Before moving to Lk. 7.36-50 it is important to note how, throughout the gospel, Luke uses 'seeing' as a metaphor for perceiving the word of God.[2] Although seeing is less frequent in Luke than hearing, both are

* Slightly different versions of this essay appear in ''Do You See This Woman?' Lk. 7.36-50 as a Paradigm for Feminist Hermeneutics', *BibRes* 40 (1995), pp. 37-49, and *Choosing the Better Part? Women in the Gospel of Luke* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1996), pp. 107-23.

1. Audre Lorde, *The Black Unicorn: Poems* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978), p. 94, quoted in Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *But She Said: Feminist Practices of Biblical Interpretation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), p. 1.

2. See Alan Culpepper, 'Seeing the Kingdom of God: The Metaphor of Sight in

used as metaphors for the ability to perceive and respond properly to Jesus.

*Seeing and Believing*

In the opening chapters of the gospel, the mere sight of the child Jesus turns people to God if they are properly disposed to see Jesus as the bearer of salvation (2.20, 30-31). A significant part of Jesus' mission is to bring 'recovery of sight to the blind' (4.18). The physical healings also symbolize the capacity to perceive and respond properly to Jesus (e.g. 18.35-43). Seeing Jesus' deeds leads people to glorify God (5.26; 17.15-16). At the sight of Jesus' death, the centurion glorifies God and declares Jesus righteous (23.47).

But seeing Jesus and his deeds does not always evoke a positive response. In 8.10, Jesus—using the words of the prophet Isaiah—warns his disciples about looking but not seeing, and hearing but not understanding. And in 10.23-24 Jesus stresses to them their privileged position; he says to them:

> Blessed are the eyes that see what you see. For I say to you, many prophets and kings desired to see what you see, but did not see it, and to hear what you hear, but did not hear it.

That clarity of vision for them only comes after the resurrection is evident from what happens to the two disciples on the road to Emmaus (Lk. 24.31). Paradoxically, 'their eyes were opened and they recognized him' just as 'he vanished from their sight'. And at the next appearance to the disciples in Jerusalem (Lk. 24.39) Jesus directs them, 'Look (ἴδετε) at my hands and my feet; see that it is I myself. Touch me and see (ἴδετε)'. Seeing and believing are linked until the very end of Luke's narrative.

*Seeing and Not Believing*

There are, however, those who are not disposed to believe on the basis of what they see in Jesus. Herod is a case in point. Luke 9.9 says that Herod 'kept trying to see (ἐζήτει ἰδεῖν) him [Jesus]'. He succeeds in 23.8, where Luke remarks, 'Herod was very glad to see (ἰδεῖν) Jesus; he had been wanting to see (ἰδεῖν) him for a long time, for he had heard about him and had been hoping to see (ἰδεῖν) him perform some sign'. But seeing based on curiosity or sign-seeking falls far short of the mark. Or take the

the Gospel of Luke', *CurTM* 21 (1994), pp. 434-43; Dennis Hamm, 'What the Samaritan Leper Sees: The Narrative Christology of Luke 17.11-19', *CBQ* 56 (1994), pp. 273-87; *idem*, 'Sight to the Blind: Vision as Metaphor in Luke', *Bib* 67 (1986), pp. 457-77; Stephen D. Moore, *Mark and Luke in Poststructuralist Perspectives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 111-44.

parable of the good Samaritan: when the priest and the Levite each see (ἰδεῖν) the man who had been robbed, they pass by on the opposite side (10.31, 32). Only the Samaritan traveler 'was moved with compassion at the sight' (10.33).

### *Setting the Scene for Luke 7.36-50*

Throughout the Third Gospel, then, seeing Jesus and his deeds leads some to believe, but others not. And this is the theme of the section that precedes the episode at the home of Simon the Pharisee. The dinner party scene comes on the heels of the inquiry of the disciples of John the Baptist to Jesus, 'Are you the one who is to come, or should we look for another?' (7.20). The next verse interjects: 'At that time he cured many of their diseases, sufferings, and evil spirits; he also granted sight to many who were blind' (7.21). Jesus then replies to John's disciples, 'Go and tell John what you have seen and heard: the blind regain their sight, the lame walk, lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, the poor have the good news proclaimed to them' (7.22). He concludes, 'And blessed is the one who takes no offense at me' (7.23). The issue is how people evaluate what they see and hear concerning Jesus: does it draw them to faith in him? Or do they take offense? Note that Jesus points John's disciples to what they have seen and heard, but it is for them to interpret: to believe or not to believe.

In the next scene (7.24-35), after the messengers of John have left, Jesus speaks to the crowds. He quizzes them about what they went out to the desert to see when they followed John. Three times he asks, 'What did you go out to the desert to see—a reed swayed by the wind?' (v. 24). 'Then what did you go out to see? Someone dressed in fine garments?' (v. 25). And again, 'Then what did you go out to see? A prophet?' (v. 26). The issue of seeing a prophet, raised in v. 26, prepares for Simon's objection in v. 39: if Jesus were a prophet he would know who and what sort of woman was touching him.

Luke 7.29-30 shows that as with Jesus, so with John before him, some were disposed to see the prophet and turn to God; others not. Verse 7.29 asserts, 'all the people who listened, including the tax collectors, and who were baptized with the baptism of John, acknowledged the righteousness of God'. By contrast, 'the Pharisees and scholars of the Law, who were not baptized by him, rejected the plan of God for themselves' (7.30). [3] A parable in 7.31-32 continues to contrast actual responses to

3. See J.T. Carroll, 'Luke's Portrayal of the Pharisees', *CBQ* 50 (1988), pp. 604-21, for further detail on how Luke uses Jesus' encounters with the Pharisees to demonstrate competing understandings of the realm of God.

those desired: 'We played the flute for you, but you did not dance. We sang a dirge, but you did not weep'. The mention of weeping leads into 7.36-50, where the woman who exemplifies the desired response stands behind Jesus, 'at his feet weeping' (7. 38).

Following the parable of the children in the marketplace, 7.33-34 returns to the issue of seeing. For those determined not to 'see' in a way that leads to faith, they will see what they want: in John, who 'came neither eating food nor drinking wine', they see a man 'possessed by a demon' (7.33); in Jesus who 'came eating and drinking' they see 'a glutton and a drunkard, a friend of tax collectors and sinners' (7.34). With this as the backdrop, we turn to the episode at Simon's house.

> 36One of the Pharisees asked Jesus to eat with him, and he went into the Pharisee's house and took his place at the table. 37And a woman in the city, who was a sinner, having learned that he was eating in the Pharisee's house, brought an alabaster jar of ointment. 38She stood behind him at his feet, weeping, and began to bathe his feet with her tears and to dry them with her hair. Then she continued kissing his feet and anointing them with the ointment. 39Now when the Pharisee who had invited him saw it, he said to himself, 'If this man were a prophet, he would have known who and what kind of woman this is who is touching him--that she is a sinner.' 40Jesus spoke up and said to him, 'Simon, I have something to say to you.' 'Teacher', he replied, 'speak.' 41'A certain creditor had two debtors; one owed five hundred denarii, and the other fifty. 42When they could not pay, he canceled the debts for both of them. Now which of them will love him more?' 43Simon answered, 'I suppose the one for whom he canceled the greater debt.' And Jesus said to him, 'You have judged rightly.' 44Then turning toward the woman, he said to Simon, 'Do you see this woman? I entered your house; you gave me no water for my feet, but she has bathed my feet with her tears and dried them with her hair.45 You gave me no kiss, but from the time I came in she has not stopped kissing my feet. 46You did not anoint my head with oil, but she has anointed my feet with ointment. 47Therefore, I tell you, her sins, which were many, have been forgiven; hence she has shown great love. But the one to whom little is forgiven, loves little.' 48Then he said to her, 'Your sins are forgiven.' 49But those who were at the table with him began to say among themselves, 'Who is this who even forgives sins?' 50And he said to the woman, 'Your faith has saved you; go in peace' (NRSV).

The first three verses describe an episode that both Jesus and Simon witness. They see the same actions, but interpret them very differently. The point of the story is found not in the interaction between Jesus and the woman but in the exchange between Jesus and Simon.[4] In the context

4. Contrary to Evelyn R. Thibeaux, '"Known to be a Sinner": The Narrative Rhetoric of Luke 7.36-50', *BTB* 23.4 (1993), pp. 151-60, p. 152.

of Lk. 7, Simon exemplifies one who sees what he expects to see. The question that this episode poses is: can Simon ever see differently?

*What Simon Sees*

Luke 7.39 gives Simon's initial judgment. Note that two perceptions are intimately related: what Simon sees in the woman and her interaction with Jesus determines how Simon sees Jesus himself. Simon is clear about what he sees: she is a sinner, and Jesus is not a prophet. Now it becomes apparent that Simon's ability to see differently not only concerns his attitude toward the woman, but also his relationship with Jesus.

*A Parable*

The story continues with Jesus confronting Simon about his mistaken perceptions (7.40). As most often in this gospel, Jesus does not engage in lengthy discourses about the realm of God but rather tells a parable (7.41-43). Simon easily gets the point when it is presented in story form. But now comes the real test: will Simon 'get' it when confronted with the real-life woman? Jesus turns to the woman, but says to Simon, 'Do you see this woman?' (7.44). This is the hinge question of the whole pericope.

*What Jesus Sees*

Jesus then recounts what he saw the woman do (7.44-46). The purpose of this recitation is not so much to accuse Simon for what he did not do.[5] The focus is: Does Simon persist in seeing the woman as a sinner, or is he able to reinterpret her actions? As Simon is still not forthcoming with a different evaluation of what he saw, Jesus articulates his own conclusion and so attempts to persuade Simon to see as he sees: she has been forgiven much and now shows great love (7.47-48). Verse 47 makes it utterly clear that the woman's sins had already been forgiven before this dinner party. The perfect tense of the verb ἀφέωνται, 'have been forgiven', expresses a past action whose effects endure into the present. How or when the woman's sins were forgiven is not narrated. Jesus' words to her in 7.48, 'Your sins are forgiven', are an affirmation to her of what has already occurred. One thing is very clear: the woman is not forgiven because of her lavish demonstrations of love; rather, the loving actions follow from her experience of having been forgiven. The parable in 7.41-43 and the conclusion of 7.47c make the same point: much love follows much forgiveness.[6]

5. See, e.g., Kenneth E. Bailey, *Poet and Peasant & Through Peasant Eyes* (2 vols. in 1; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), II, p. 11, who explores why Simon would have invited Jesus and then deliberately snub him. This is not the point.

6. The phrase ὅτι ἠγάπησεν πολύ allows the meaning, 'because she loves much',

Is Simon persuaded to adopt this perspective? Can he let go of seeing the woman as a sinner and see, rather, her great love? Can he see Jesus as a prophet and a special agent of God's forgiving love? Can he see himself as one in need of forgiveness as well? We don't know. Like all good parables, the story is open-ended. It remains for us to finish.

The concluding verses 7.48-50 append sayings found in other Lukan stories that have only a loose connection to 7.36-47. In the story of the man who had been paralyzed (5.17-26), Jesus also says, 'Your sins are forgiven' (5.20). The scribes and Pharisees react by asking themselves, 'Who is this who speaks blasphemies? Who but God alone can forgive sins?' (5.21). Simon's asking himself about Jesus' identity in 7.39 recalls 5.20-21 and prompts Luke to end the episode in ch. 7 with the same statement, 'Your sins are forgiven' (7.48) and the same question, 'Who is this?' (7.49). The central point of the episode in 7.36-50, however, does not concern Jesus' ability to forgive sins, but rather Simon's misperception of a forgiven sinner. The effect of Jesus' statement in 7.48 is to reaffirm to the woman the forgiveness she has already experienced. The question in 7.49 indicates that Jesus is the agent of the forgiveness, although the verb ἀφέωνται, 'have been forgiven' (7.47), may be understood as a theological passive, that is, the forgiving has been done by God. In context, the effect of 7.49 is that Simon's companions are shown as contradicting Jesus' attempt to move Simon to a different perception of the woman. The reader is left wondering who will win out: Jesus or Simon's cronies?

The concluding verse, 'Your faith has saved you; go in peace' (7.50) is identical to the closing line of the story of the healing of the woman with a hemorrhage (8.43-48). In the latter, faith is at the heart of the message; in 7.36-50 faith only appears in the final verse, and is not the point of the episode. The similarities of the two narratives, in which a woman approaches Jesus without his bidding and touches him followed by objections from a male character, cause Luke to append 7.50 to the story of the woman who loved greatly, giving the two episodes identical

taking the conjunction ὅτι in a consecutive sense. However, the conclusion in v. 47c, 'But the one to whom little is forgiven, loves little', and the parable in vv. 41-43 have the opposite point: that the love follows the forgiveness. In this context it is clear that ὅτι must be understood in the causal sense, pointing not to the reason why the fact *is* so, but whereby it is *known* to be so. The translation of the REB makes this the clearest: 'So I tell you, her great love proves that her many sins have been forgiven; where little has been forgiven, little love is shown'. This interpretation also makes an important theological point: divine forgiveness is not dependent on a person's demonstrations of love; the remittance of sin is prior. See further Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I–IX: Introduction, Translation and Notes* (AB, 28; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), p. 687.

endings. It invites us to take up the challenge presented to Simon and to be converted to Jesus' way of seeing.

### *Look Again*

This text can likewise serve as a challenge to modern believers and exegetes to take another look at what we see when we approach a familiar text. If we ask the question of ourselves, 'Do you see this woman?', what is it that we see? How has our vision been colored by past interpretations that tend to reinforce Simon's initial perception and never move beyond that? It is startling to see how many commentators and translators do precisely that.

#### *Titles*

First, a sampling of titles given to the passage by modern scholars is revealing.[7] The NAB (with revised New Testament, 1986) entitles it: 'The Pardon of a Sinful Woman'. The NJB (rev. 1985) and the NRSV (1989) call it: 'The Woman Who Was a Sinner'. Harper Collins Study Bible (1993) has, 'A Sinful Woman Forgiven'. *La Nueva Biblia Latinoamericana* (1972) confuses matters entirely by making her 'La mujer pecadora de Magdala' ('The Sinful Woman from Magdala')! The Christian Community Bible (1988) is noncommittal: 'Jesus, the Woman and the Pharisee'.

In five out of these six titles, the sinfulness of the woman is the focus. Two mistakenly lead the reader to believe that the pardon of her sins takes place in this episode. It is remarkable that none has thought to point the reader to the way Jesus perceives her (v. 47) by entitling it: 'A Woman who Shows Great Love'.

#### *Mistranslations*

In addition to titles that direct attention to the woman's sinfulness, there are mistranslations of Lk. 7.47. The 1970 edition of the NAB translates: 'I tell you, that is why her many sins are forgiven—because of her great love. Little is forgiven one whose love is small.' Similarly, the 1971 edition of the RSV has: 'Therefore, I tell you, her sins, which are many, are forgiven, for she loved much; but he[8] who is forgiven little, loves little.' Both of these wrongly make the woman's forgiveness a consequence of her actions. Note that the RSV reverses the direction in the

7. Although the additions of subtitles by modern translators where there are none in the Greek manuscripts may help the reader to find his or her place in the text, they also interpret the passage—oftentimes in a mistaken direction.

8. The relative pronoun ᾧ is rendered inclusively, 'the one to whom', in the revised version of 1989.

second half of the verse, correctly rendering that little forgiveness results in little love. The same is true of the translation of the NJB and *La Nueva Biblia Latinoamericana*. The former renders it: 'For this reason I tell you that her sins, many as they are, have been forgiven her, because she has shown such great love. It is someone who is forgiven little who shows little love'; *La Nueva Biblia Latinoamericana* is just the same: 'Por esto te digo que sus pecados, sus numerosos pecados, le quedan perdonados, por el mucho amor que demostró. Pero aquel a quien se le perdona poco, demuestra poco amor'; and the *Christian Community Bible* has: 'This is why, I tell you, her sins, her many sins, are forgiven, because she loved much. But the one who is forgiven little, returns little love.' Happily, the revised versions of the NAB (1986) and NRSV (1989) have corrected these mistranslations.

Finally, the rendering of 7.37 in some translations also serves to reinforce the woman's sinfulness. The text clearly says that the woman was a sinner, but the verb tense in v. 37 is imperfect, which has the connotation, 'used to be'. In other words, she was a sinner, but is no longer, as is also clear from 7.47. That the woman was a sinner in the past is completely obscured in the translation of the NAB: 'Now there was a sinful woman in the city'. Moreover, this translation juxtaposes 'sinful' and 'woman', making it all the more difficult ever to eradicate the equation of the two. The NRSV is far preferable and translates the Greek more literally: 'And a woman in the city, who was a sinner.'

*A Prostitute?*

What about the kinds of sins this woman committed? It is curious that, although the text does not say what sort of sins she had committed, much attention is given to speculation on the nature of her sinful past. By contrast, commentators never discuss what might be the type of sins Simon Peter has committed when he says he is 'a sinful man' in the story of his call (Lk. 5.7). The usual presumption is that the woman in 7.36-50 was a prostitute.[9] In v. 47 Jesus acknowledges that her sins had been

9. E.g., Kathleen Corley, *Private Women: Public Meals: Social Conflict in the Synoptic Tradition* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993), p. 124; J.D.M. Derrett, *Law in the New Testament* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1970), pp. 167-68; Elisabeth Moltmann-Wendel, *The Women Around Jesus* (New York: Crossroad, 1993), p. 65; A. Plummer, *The Gospel According to S. Luke* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 5th edn, 1981), p. 210; E. Schweizer, *The Good News According to Luke* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1984), p. 139; Ben Witherington III, *Women and the Genesis of Christianity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 66. Fitzmyer dissents: 'No hint is given of the kind of sins that she has committed' (*Luke I–IX*, p. 689). M. Black (*An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 3rd edn, 1967], pp. 181-83) thinks that the Lukan text is

many, and Luke hints in v. 37 that the whole city also knows this. But does that warrant the conclusion that she is a prostitute?

*Women at Banquets.* For some scholars, the woman's mere presence[10] at the banquet makes her sexually suspect.[11] However, the woman who comes to Simon's house is not a participant in the banquet. Nor does she do any of the things that banquet courtesans were known to do: engage in witty conversation or discussion with the banqueters, drink with them, recline beside them, dance, act, play the flute or harp, or in any way entertain.[12] Nor is she named by any of the known terms for such women: πόρνη, 'prostitute, whore'; κοινή, 'common' (i.e. 'shared by all'); γύναι πάγκοινε, 'public woman'; πιλάσωντος, 'wanton'; ἑταῖρα, 'companion to men', the term for the highest class prostitutes.[13]

*Loose Hair = Loose Woman?* Nonetheless, some find in Lk. 7.36-50 proof of the woman's prostitution in the details of her loosening her hair, possessing an expensive alabaster flask of perfume, and emptying it out on Jesus' feet. First the hair.

It is commonly thought that it was shameful for a woman to let down

playing on the Aramaic word for 'sinner', *hayyābtā'*, 'debtor', and is thus providing a connection between the pronouncement story and the parable.

10. John Koenig (*New Testament Hospitality: Partnership with Strangers as Promise and Mission* [OBT, 17; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985]) notes that rabbinic texts (*Ab.* 1.5; *t. Ber.* 4.8; *Ta'an.* 20b) speak of virtuous Pharisees who were known to open their houses to the needy, particularly for Sabbath eve supper. This explains how the woman could have gained access to a Pharisee's meal.

11. Corley (*Private Women*, p. 26) notes that in ancient Greece and Rome women seldom dined with men, and those who did attend banquets were prostitutes who were there to enhance the pleasure of the men.

12. See such descriptions of banquet courtesans in Corley, *Private Women*, pp. 38-48; see also Sarah Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Dorset, 1975), pp. 88-92.

13. Furthermore, it is not known whether any of the women who responded positively to Jesus were prostitutes. Such speculation is based on a lone saying, unique to Matthew. It occurs on the lips of Jesus at the end of the parable of the two sons. He says to the chief priests and elders, 'Amen, I say to you, tax collectors and prostitutes are entering the kingdom of God before you. When John came to you in the way of righteousness, you did not believe him; but tax collectors and prostitutes did. Yet even when you saw that, you did not later change your minds and believe him' (Mt. 21.31-32). The saying serves as a warning to the religious leaders, who think themselves upright, but who in fact may not be. It contrasts their negative response to Jesus with that of those least expected to be upright: tax collectors and prostitutes. It is a warning to the leaders, set forth in polemical terms, not a historical attestation on the make-up of Jesus' itinerant band of followers.

her hair in public.[14] J.F. Coakley[15] lists rabbinic texts that show that a *married* woman was not to let down her hair in the presence of other men (*t. Soṭ.* 5.9; *y. Git.* 9.50d, etc.). But he observes that 'none of these passages touches the question of what an unmarried woman might decently do in a neighbor's house among friends'. He cites *m. Ket.* 2.1 as seeming to assume that a woman did not bind up her hair until her marriage.[16] He asks further, why, if letting down her hair in public was such a gross act of immodesty, the woman, supposed to be penitent, went out of her way to shock, and why no one commented on the offensiveness of her action.[17] In fact the Pharisee host says to himself (v. 39) that Jesus would have to be a prophet to realize what sort of woman this is![18]

There are other meanings associated with loose, flowing hair. In the Song of Songs (4.1; 6.5) among the charms extolled by the bridegroom-to-be of his beloved is her beautiful hair that is 'like a flock of goats, streaming down the mountains of Gilead'. Her dark, flowing hair evokes in him awe and love; there is nothing in her loose hair that suggests prostitution.

Another possibility is that in Lk. 7.36-50 the woman's gesture of wiping Jesus' feet with her hair simply signifies that her tears were not premeditated and that, lacking a towel, her hair was the only means at

14. Plummer (*Luke* [5th edn], p. 211) makes this assertion without giving any sources.

15. F. Coakley, 'The Anointing at Bethany and the Priority of John', *JBL* 107 (1988), pp. 241-56.

16. The text of *m. Ket.* 2.1 is rendered by Jacob Neusner (*The Mishnah: A New Translation* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988], p. 380):

A. The woman who was widowed or divorced—
B. she says, 'You married me as a virgin'—
C. and he says, 'Not so, but I married you as a widow'—
D. if there are witnesses that [when she got married],
she went forth to music
with her hair flowing loose,
E. her marriage contract is two hundred.

17. Luise Schottroff (*Let the Oppressed Go Free: Feminist Perspectives on the New Testament* [trans. A.S. Kidder; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993], pp. 138-57) resolves the tension in the opposite direction: the woman is a whore but not repentant. She argues that because of economic necessity the woman remains a prostitute, but has experienced and has given love. She believes the story is not about prostitution that can be overcome by Christian repentance. Rather, the issue is mercy and respect toward prostitutes exhibited by Jesus contrasted with prejudice against them shown by Simon. Schottroff states that it is the moralizing tendency of Christians that prevents us from accepting such an interpretation.

18. Coakley, 'Anointing', p. 250.

hand for drying Jesus' feet.[19] Or, taking another tack, J.F. Coakley remarks that 'the woman's tears can surely not have been so copious as to need wiping up at all!'[20] This detail, he suggests, derives not from factual reporting, but from 'quasi-poetic hyperbole', such as that found in Ps. 6.6, 'every night I flood my bed with weeping; I drench my couch with my tears'.

*A Wealthy Woman.* What of the expensive alabaster flask of ointment? That the woman possessed this attests to her wealth.[21] But prostitution was not the only source of wealth for women in antiquity. Numbers 27.8 asserts that an unmarried woman without brothers could inherit money and property from her father. [22] A woman could also acquire money by working, either on her own, or by sharing in her husband's work. There is evidence of Greco-Roman women employed as weavers, midwives, doctors, hairdressers, wet nurses, masseuses, attendants, and musicians.[23] From Acts 16.14 we know of Lydia of Thyatira, who was a dealer in purple goods, luxury items. Acts 18.3 tells of Prisca working together with her husband Aquila at tentmaking. Inscriptions that Bernadette Brooten has examined from Jewish women who were donors to synagogues show that at least some Greco-Roman women had money or property and the power to donate it.[24]

Even the action of pouring out the ointment from the alabaster flask has been interpreted as the action of a prostitute who disposes of a tool

19. I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC, 3; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), pp. 308-309.

20. Coakley, 'Anointing', p. 250.

21. In antiquity alabaster was quarried only in Egypt, and so was a luxury item, as was perfume. See J.L. McKenzie, 'Alabaster', in *Dictionary of the Bible* (New York: MacMillan, 1965), p. 19.

22. See Moshe Meiselman, *Jewish Woman in Jewish Law* (Library of Jewish Law and Ethics, 6; New York: Ktav, 1978), pp. 84-95, for information on inheritance by women in rabbinic tradition. He also demonstrates Jewish women's financial independence by their entering into contracts to acquire and dispose of property (pp. 81-83).

23. Jane Gardner, *Women in Roman Law and Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 233-55.

24. Bernadette Brooten, *Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue: Inscriptional Evidence and Background Issues* (BJS, 36; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982), studies 43 such inscriptions. See also Richard Atwood, *Mary Magdalene in the New Testament Gospels and Early Tradition* (European University Studies, 23/457; Bern: Peter Lang, 1993), p. 17 n. 23, for examples of women who gave monetary aid and property to rabbis. Ben Witherington III lists rabbinic texts that refer to women offering support to rabbis and their disciples in the form of money, property, or foodstuffs in 'On the Road with Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Susanna, and Other Disciples—Luke 8.1-3', *ZNW* 70 (1979), pp. 243-48 (244 n. 9) (reprinted in this volume, pp. 133-39).

of her trade now that she has been forgiven. Kenneth Bailey, for example, notes that women were known to wear a flask with perfume around the neck that hung down below the breast, used to sweeten the breath and perfume the person. He remarks that 'it does not take much imagination to understand how important such a flask would be to a prostitute'.[25] If one is predisposed to see this woman as a prostitute, then he is right: one's imagination would not have to be pressed far.

*An Image of Christ*

But if one were predisposed to see in a female figure a potential disciple, or one who could prefigure the Christ, it is possible to envision the symbolic action in another direction. Does not her pouring out of the expensive ointment because of love prefigure Jesus' pouring out of his precious life-blood on behalf of those whom he loves (Lk. 22.20)? In fact, this story has a number of thematic connections to the death of Jesus.[26] This woman is assured salvation (Lk. 7.50), just as is the repentant criminal (Lk. 23.41-42); her tears stand in contrast to those of Peter, who weeps bitterly after denying Jesus (Lk. 22.62); her kisses contrast to the betraying kiss of Judas (22.47); and her position at Jesus' feet is the stance of a servant, the stance which Jesus instructs his disciples to take at the last supper (Lk. 22.26-27).

The woman in Lk. 7.36-50 exemplifies one who responds properly to Jesus and whose actions mirror his own. The key question her story poses, not only to Simon, but to the modern exegete is, 'Do you see this woman?' In the narrative, not to see the woman and her actions properly is not to perceive Jesus and his identity correctly. The story is open-ended: there is yet hope that Simon's vision can be corrected. What about ours?

## *Reading Luke against the Grain*

The preceding exercise in feminist liberationist exegesis attempts to unmask the gender biases that have shaped both the text and our interpretations of it. Such an approach challenges us to look with new eyes and to excise cataracts formed from misperceptions, prejudgments, and stereotyped views of women that blind us to the full identity of Jesus. Reading Luke in this way, however, is not in conformity with the evangelist's intent.

25. Bailey, *Poet and Peasant*, II, p. 8.
26. Corley, *Private Women*, p. 128.

Luke has more stories about women than any other evangelist, but his narratives do not portray women as sharing in the mission in the same way as their male counterparts.[27] Although women welcome Jesus (Lk. 10.38), believe (Lk. 1.45; 7.50; 8.48; Acts 5.14; 8.12; 16.1, 15; 17.12, 34), are baptized (Acts 16.15), follow Jesus (Lk. 23.49), and host house churches (Acts 12.12; 16.40), there are no Lukan narratives showing women as called or commissioned. Women in Luke and Acts do not engage in the mission of preaching, teaching,[28] witnessing, healing, exorcising, forgiving, or feeding. Women who proclaim are reprimanded (11.27-28) or disbelieved (24.11).[29] Women in the Third Gospel are healed by Jesus and are objects of his compassion (Lk. 8.40-56; 13.10-17). Those women disciples who do minister, for example, the Galilean women in Lk. 8.1-3, are cast in behind-the-scenes supportive roles. Those who remain silent and receptive are said to have 'chosen the better part' (10.42).[30]

For a church working toward equal discipleship for women and men, such stories cannot be taught, preached, or passed on uncritically. Strategies are needed for unmasking Luke's kyriarchal framework and for reinterpreting and recontextualizing the stories. A first step is to ask questions such as: Through whose lenses has the text been constructed

27. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (*In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* [New York: Crossroad, 1983], p. 50) was the first to show that although Luke knows of women prophets, leaders, and missionaries, he does not portray them as such in his narratives. See also Mary Rose D'Angelo, 'Women in Luke–Acts: A Redactional View', *JBL* 109 (1990), pp. 441-61; Jane Schaberg, 'Luke', in Carol Newsom and Sharon Ringe (eds.), *The Women's Bible Commentary* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), pp. 275-92; Turid Karlsen Seim, *The Double Message: Patterns of Gender in Luke–Acts* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994).

28. The one woman who is said to be teaching is Priscilla, along with her husband, Aquila. In Acts 18.26 Luke relates that they heard Apollos preach in Ephesus, and 'they took him aside and explained (ἐέθεντο) to him the Way [of God] more accurately'. However, here Luke does not use the verb διδάσκειν, which is the verb used to refer to Jesus' teaching in Lk. 4.15, 31, 32; 5.3, 17; 6.6; 10.39; 11.1; 13.10, 22, 26; 19.47; 20.1; 21.37; 23.5, and to the teaching of the male disciples in Acts 2.42; 4.2,18; 5.21, 25, 28, 42; 11.26; 13.12; 15.35; 17.19; 18.11, 25; 20.20; 21.21 28; 28.31, but rather ἐκτίθημι, meaning, 'to explain, set forth'. This seems a deliberate attempt by Luke to downplay Priscilla's teaching ministry, a ministry he considers more properly belonging to male disciples.

29. The three women in the infancy narratives, Elizabeth, Mary, and Anna, appear as prophetic women who proclaim, but they are not disciples of Jesus. Luke casts them in the mold of Old Testament women prophets such as Miriam, Huldah, and Deborah, who belong to the past era of Israel (Lk. 16.16).

30. See further Barbara Reid, 'Luke: the Gospel for Women?', *CurTM* 21.6 (1994), pp. 405-14, and *eadem*, *Choosing the Better Part?*

and under what historical circumstances? Through what lenses is a particular exegete looking? A second strategy is to ask: What is wrong with this picture? How does the portrait of women presented by Luke match or contrast with contemporary women's experience? This text, for example, has very little to say to most Christian women if the person in the story with whom they are supposed to identify is a prostitute. Nor is the persistent equation of 'woman' with 'sinner' the experience of most Christians. The first place one looks for women in the church is not the confessional. In most parishes women are typically the most faithful attendants at worship, and it is they who hold together all the various ministries: preparing and leading the prayer and the music, proclaiming the Word, educating the youth, sharing faith, organizing committees, keeping prayer vigils, to cite only some of what is central to women's expression of their faith. Contemporary Christian women are not silent and passive supporters of the mission that is entrusted to men, as Luke would have us think. Looking attentively at the reality of contemporary women's experience in the church, that women and men alike are sinners in need of forgiveness, that the women and men alike are entrusted with the mission, leads us to ask whether corrective lenses are needed in looking at the text in order to release its full potential for conveying the liberating word of God.

A third movement is to discern: In what direction is this text or this interpretation of the text taking us? Does it lead to full, liberated life for all? Or does it serve kyriarchal interests? Fourth, what tools are needed to understand the original historical situation that the text reflects? What tools are needed to reinterpret and recontextualize for a vastly different present situation? Fifth, each must ask: Am I willing to undergo cataract surgery? Am I able to let go of the way I've always seen, even if it is myopic? Can I risk being led to 'see better' even if it means that my eyes will hurt? Sixth, as I come to see differently, am I willing to help others do so? Like Jesus with his parables, can I tell the story in such a way that it does not put off others whose vision is blurred, but rather persuades them to see differently as our collective vision for equality and inclusivity improves?

## *Open Horizons*

Feminist liberationist hermeneutics opens vast new horizons for life in the church. We find ourselves at a new juncture not unlike the position of Jesus' first women disciples. Having witnessed the death of the Jesus they had come to love and believe in, the women entered the open space

of the empty tomb,[31] which impelled them forward to unimaginable new horizons. In similar fashion, women who recognize and reject the deadliness of biblical interpretations that rest on sexist stereotypes find themselves with eyes newly opened (Lk. 24.31), choosing to leave behind the empty place of death and to embark on new exegetical roads that lead to fuller vision and life.

31. This image is from Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Jesus: Miriam's Child, Sophia's Prophet: Critical Issues in Feminist Christology* (New York: Continuum, 1994), pp. 119-28.

# The Woman is a Sinner/The Sinner is a Woman

Teresa J. Hornsby

## *Introduction*

When I first approached Luke's anointing narrative in 7.36-50 and then read the various exegeses, my initial question was this: Why is it that for almost 1800 years, the interpretations are nearly unanimous in their assumption that the woman who anoints Jesus' feet is a prostitute? As I worked on this question for the past five years or so, I found all kinds of reasons that scholars have given to justify a prostitute label for the anointing woman; these range from 'she's a woman sinner and how else can a woman sin?'[1] or 'she has ointment and what other kind of woman would have ointment?'[2] to more historically based arguments, such as the claim that any woman who attended Greco-Roman symposium-type meals would invite the label of prostitute. As I read these various arguments that sought to justify labeling the woman as deviant, I became aware that an assumption about her identity may already have been in place prior to the construction of the arguments. Readers have filled in the gaps in the story such as, Who is she? Why is she there? Why is she crying?, with information that would support a predetermined, usually negative conclusion about the woman's identity and purpose.

So now I ask a different question: What is it about Luke's narrative that makes readers want to identify the woman as a prostitute? I will begin by delineating how I first read the anointing woman; I then briefly discuss the more common interpretations of the pericope; and finally I offer some conclusions about why the anointing woman is so often viewed in a negative light.

1. See Jane Schaberg, 'Luke', in Carol Newsom and Sharon Ringe (eds.), *The Women's Bible Commentary* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, expanded edn, 1998), pp. 363-80.

2. Kenneth E. Bailey, *Poet and Peasant* and *Through Peasant Eyes* (2 vols. in 1; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), II, p. 8; Sharon Ringe offers this reading as well in her *Luke* (Westminster Bible Companion; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1995), p. 108.

When I first read Luke's gospel, I found the account of the woman who wipes Jesus' feet with her hair as she weeps on them not only most provocative but also somewhat erotic. I was conscious of a physicality that certainly went beyond (I assumed) what was acceptable in 'proper society'. I was captivated by the messiness of what the woman was doing as she poured and wiped ointment on Jesus' feet and by what I perceived to be an act of intimacy forced into public space. But above all, I remember thinking that this woman in Lk. 7 was one of the most powerful and memorable characters in the New Testament.

The image of a woman being so lavishly physical with no apparent fear of reprisal and without any shame associated with her act made me glad: glad, I think, because I could finally identify with a character in the biblical text, a character who in my initial reading acts independently in blending together the movements of her body with an expression of raw emotion. I was even more pleased to read that Jesus responds positively to her gestures of wiping hair, wiping tears, wiping feet. Of course, these musings about who she is, what she is doing, and why, were my own inventions; I imported the eroticism, her 'out-of-placeness', her independence, into the text. Because I wanted to read her that way, I did. Yet, even though my interpretation of this pericope is arbitrary, it arises from reflections that value her and her acts rather than disparage them.

But when I looked at the interpretations of Luke's passage, I could not find the woman I had read. I was disappointed to discover that this figure has been used since the earliest interpretations as a symbol of every woman's lewdness, as a symbol of a woman's physicality that stands over and against what is 'good' and 'proper'. With very few exceptions, especially in any work prior to the mid-1980s, scholars either call her a prostitute or they claim that the label the narrator gives her of 'sinner' (ἁμαρτωλός) surely indicates that the anointing woman is a carnal transgressor; her effusive weeping, they write, must be indicative of sexual, shame-inspired remorse and repentance;[3] her ointment must

3. Origen, *Matthäus*, Book 12, section 4, lines 10-14; see also Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke* (trans. R.P. Smith; [S.I.]: Stadion Publishers, 1983), p. 171; T. Lindsay, *Gospel of Luke* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1889), p. 114; A.T. Robertson, *A Translation of Luke's Gospel* (Nashville: Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1923), p. 174; B.S. Easton, *The Gospel According to Luke* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), p. 105; J.A. Findlay, *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (London: Student Christian Movement, 1937), p. 94; Str-B, II, pp. 162-63; N. Geldenhuys, *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1960), p. 236; J.R.H. Moorman, *The Path To Glory* (London: Seabury, 1960), p. 85; J.A. Bailey, *The Traditions Common to the Gospels of Luke and John* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963), p. 1; J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons 1963), p. 126; W.R. Bowie, *The*

have come from her prostitute's tool-box;[4] and the fact that she is kissing a strange man can only mean that she is sexually immoral. Luke's male sinners, even those who weep or who are specifically linked to prostitutes, do not acquire the taint of shame comparable to that of the anointing woman.

Her character and the legends she inspires in her conflation with Mary of Magdala have been put through an assortment of mutations. Most often, she is called a prostitute. Scholars either assume this label to be self-evident or spend a great deal of time making historically based arguments to support it. In some interpretations, the woman's acts of physicality are de-physicalized: her kisses, her tears, and her anointing become, for Origen, part of a spiritual allegory.[5] The relationship between Jesus and the woman is, in Origen's reading, developed through the intertextual association of the Song of Songs with Luke's gospel, not a physical

*Compassionate Christ* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1965), p. 118 (*passim*); E.J. Tinsley, *The Gospel According to Luke* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 82; J. Delobel, 'L'onction par la pecheresse: La composition litteraire de Lc. VII, 36-50', *ETL* 42 (1966), pp. 415-75; E.E. Ellis, *Gospel of Luke* (NCB; London: Nelson, 1966), p. 123 [he calls the pericope, 'The Churchman and the Prostitute']; D.W.C. Ford, *A Reading of St. Luke's Gospel* (New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1967), p. 110, *passim;* J.D.M. Derrett, *Law in the New Testament* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1970), pp. 167-68; J. Reiling and J.L. Swellengrebel, *A Translator's Handbook on the Gospel of Luke* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971), p. 317; A.L. Ash, *Gospel According to Luke* (Austin: Sweet, 1972), p. 134; H. Leroy, 'Vergebung und Gemeinde nach Lukas 7.36-50', in H. Feld and J. Nolte (eds.), *Wort Gottes in der Zeit: Festschrift Karl Hermann Schelkle zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Kollegen, Freunden, Schülern* (Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1973), pp. 85-94, here p. 92; C.L. Morris, *The Gospel According to Luke* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), p. 146; H. Rengstorf, 'ἁμαρτωλός', *TDNT*, I, pp. 320-33; C.B. Caird, *The Gospel of St. Luke* (New York: Penguin Books, p. 114 [Caird does not call her a prostitute, but an 'evil woman']; I.H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC, 3; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), p. 308; J. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke: I–IX* (AB, 28; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), p. 689; J. Blank, 'Frauen in den Jesusüberlieferungen', in G. Dautzenberg, H. Merklein, and K. Müller (eds.), *Die Frau im Urchristentum* (Quaestiones Disputatae, 95; Freiburg: Herder, 1983), pp. 9-91; B. Witherington III, *Women in the Ministry of Jesus: A Study of Jesus' Attitudes to Women and Their Roles as Reflected in His Earthly Life* (SNTSMS, 51; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984); J. Kilgallen, 'John the Baptist, the Sinful Woman, and the Pharisee', *JBL* 104 (1985), pp. 675-79.

4. Bailey, *Poet and Peasant*, II, p. 8; Ringe offers this reading as well at *Luke*, p. 108.

5. Origen, *The Song of Songs: Commentary and Homilies*, in J. Quasten (ed.), *Ancient Christian Writers: The Works of the Fathers in Translation* XXVI (trans. R.P. Lawson; Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1957), p. 23; and Hippolytus, *Kommentar zum Holenlied* (trans. G.N. Bonwetsch; Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der AltChristlichen Literatur, 8/2; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1902), p. 60.

one but one that represents the highest spiritual connection between the soul and the perfect love of the Divine.[6] For Jean Calvin as well as for some feminist exegetes, the woman's physicality immediately becomes the basis for observations on economics.[7]

The anointing woman is also consistently depicted as an intruder, as one who is 'out of place'; this depiction contributes to her identification as a prostitute, a term that has been constructed to label women perceived to be 'out of place'.[8] And in the legends that arise from around the fifth century throughout the Middle Ages, legends based on conflated depictions of the anointing woman, she becomes completely desexualized and, in some cases, masculinized. For example, Pelagia, the penitent harlot who finds her fore-sister in Luke's anointing woman, spends the rest of life her in a monastery and dressed as a man.[9]

So, what is it about her anointing of Jesus that elicits the sexualization, the dephysicalization, the stigmatization, and even the masculinization of the anointing woman?

### *Readers Respond to the Anointing Woman*

*Response 1: She is a prostitute because she is 'a woman who is a sinner in the city'.* Luke introduces the anointing woman with the words:

> Look, a woman who was a sinner in the city, knowing that he was eating there, bringing an alabaster [vial] of fragrant oil, and standing behind at his feet, began to wet his feet; she wiped with the hairs of her head and kissed his feet and anointed them with the ointment (7.37-38).

From Luke's introductory remarks, interpreters have jumped to the conclusion that 'woman sinner' is synonymous with 'prostitute'. Yet we

6. Origen, *The Song of Song*, XXVI, p. 23.

7. J. Calvin, *Commentary on the Harmony of the Evangelists: Matthew, Mark, and Luke* (trans. W. Pringle; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957), pp. 138-39; K. Corley, *Private Women, Public Meals: Social Conflict in the Synoptic Tradition* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993); L. Schottroff, *Let the Oppressed Go Free: Feminist Perspectives on the New Testament* (trans. A.S. Kidder Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991), p. 151.

8. K. Corley, 'Were the Women Around Jesus Really Prostitutes? Women in the Context of Greco-Roman Meals' (SBLSP; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), pp. 487-521; A. Culpepper, 'Luke', in *The New Interpreter's Bible*, IX (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995), pp. 39-490 (169-70). On the construction of 'prostitute' as a woman out of place, see R.M. Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 138.

9. S.P. Brock and S.A. Harvey (eds. and trans.), *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 40-62.

modern readers do not know what Luke means by 'sinner'. We do not even know if a female sinner is the same as a male sinner. I will tell you what I do know about 'sinner'. In an earlier work in which I survey the use of ἁμαρτωλός ('sinner') from its first known use in Aristophanes to Luke's contemporaries, I observe that the term has two primary connotations.[10] The more prominent one is also the more obvious: the sinner always stands in opposition to the righteous, the 'good', or the 'normal', even though the categories 'sinner' and 'righteous' shift according to context and to who is applying the label. This particular connotation, one of social deviance, finds its strongest evidence in the Psalms and in Ben Sira, and it remains strong in the literature contemporary with Luke's gospel, particularly in the other canonical gospels and in the *Epistle of Barnabas*.

In the second connotation, 'sinner' has the sense of 'missing the mark' or being off-center and imperfect. The typically Aristotelian depiction of 'sinner' posits an ideal, immovable standard against which all else is measured, and the sinner misses that mark by being excessive or defective. Because Aristotle's concept of the logical and biological ideal is invested with what he identifies as masculine traits,[11] and because his 'sinner' comes to represent all who fall short of the (masculine) ideal, 'sinner' may be seen as being gendered feminine. In this case as well, however, the center or norm is culturally constructed.

The 'sinner' is thus everything the good person, or the normal person, or the pure person is not. The term is relational and dynamic; 'sinner' can only be defined in contrast to another person or group, but the values assigned to each (the center and all those who deviate from it) shift according to changing group or individual presuppositions about what is normative and what is deviant. Above all, the norm—that is, the central group—is constructed with a masculine ideal; consequently, deviation from that norm could acquire a greater degree of feminization. Therefore, for a man to be called a sinner might not only suggest

10. Teresa J. Hornsby, 'The Gendered Sinner' (PhD dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 2000).

11. On Aristotle's perception of a gendered rational and biological ideal, see M. Deslauriers, 'Sex and Essence in Aristotle's Metaphysics and Biology', in C.A. Freeland (ed.), *Feminist Interpretations of Aristotle* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), pp. 138-67; K.C. Cook, 'Sexual Inequality in Aristotle's Theories of Reproduction and Inheritance', in J.K. Ward (ed.), *Feminism in Ancient Philosophy* (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 51-67; M. Homiak, 'Feminism and Aristotle's Rational Ideal', in J.K. Ward, *Feminisim and Ancient Philosophy*, pp. 118-37; C. Witt, 'Form, Normativity and Gender in Aristotle: A Feminist Perspective', in C.A. Freeland (ed.), *Feminist Interpretations of Aristotle*, pp. 118-37.

alienation from God as a theological concept but also could imply distance from the masculine ideal. If, for example, women are understood as imperfect males, as Aristotle supposes,[12] then women by definition are always 'sinners', and the man who sins may be seen as having been feminized, or at least demasculinized. The *Shepherd of Hermas* 4.1-8 tells us explicitly that the sinner is impotent, unable to 'bear fruit'.

From the number of times Luke uses ἁμαρτωλός, it is clear that Jesus' relationship to sinners is a major theme of the gospel. Luke uses a form of ἁμαρτωλός 17 times, more than all the other gospels combined.[13] Like Matthew and Mark, Luke explicitly makes the point that Jesus has come just for the sinners (Lk. 5.32). But Luke differs from the other canonical gospels by telling stories about Jesus' relationships with and accounts of individual sinners. John mentions an individual sinner but that sinner is Jesus (Jn 9.16).

In Luke's version of the calling of the first disciples, Peter is presented as a self-described sinner who obeys and submits to Jesus out of fear (Lk. 5.1-11); Luke offers a parable about a son who sins but who is nevertheless welcomed back by his father (Lk. 15.11-32); he tells about a Pharisee and a sinful tax collector who pray at the Temple (Lk. 18.9-14); and he narrates a story of Jesus' acceptance of Zacchaeus, a tax collector who considered a sinner by those watching (Lk. 19.1-10). Except for the *Apocalypse of Moses*, wherein Eve is called a sinner, Luke provides the only known example of an individual woman who is named a sinner, the anointing woman of ch. 7. Only in the interpretations of Luke's narrative does 'sinner' assume an explicitly sexual connotation.

The historical arguments underlying the label are not without some merit. Kathleen Corley and Luise Schottroff are convinced that Luke intends the anointing woman to be seen as a prostitute because of the descriptive phrase, 'a woman who is a sinner in the city'. Corley writes:

> The combination of the term 'sinner' with her identification as a woman known in the city makes it more than likely that Luke intends for his readers to identify her as a prostitute, or more colloquially, a 'streetwalker' or 'public woman'. She is known for her sexual promiscuity.[14]

Corley proposes that the phrase 'in the city' is a subtle reference to a Greek euphemism for prostitute—'public woman' (δημίη)—found in the

12. See Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), pp. 25-35; See also B. Brooten, *Love Between Women: Early Christian Responses to Female Homoeroticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 157 n. 42.

13. Lk. 5.8, 30, 32; 6.32, 33, 34; 7.34, 37, 39; 13.2; 15.1, 2, 7, 10; 18.13; 19.7; 24.7.

14. Corley, *Private Women*, p. 124.

lexographies of Julius Pollux (late second century CE) and Hesychius of Alexandria (fifth century CE). That euphemism, however, means a public constituency, not a public place. The expression 'public woman' may well bear the connotation of a 'popular woman'; since it does not imply an association to public space, it does not directly correspond to the phrase, 'in the city'.

Underlying the idea that 'a woman who is a sinner in the city' means 'prostitute' is the assumption that she is 'out of place'. This supposed displacement is supported by yet more filling of gaps in the account of Lk. 7.36-50. For example, the woman is often depicted as an intruder into Simon's house, and some scholars both elaborately describe the architectural layout of the typical Greco-Roman dwelling and refer to socio-historical theories about dinner etiquette to argue that the woman must have been milling around in the courtyard until she bursts rudely onto the scene. Portraying the anointing woman as an intruder solidifies her identity as 'out of place'. In turn, Corley argues that 'her very presence at the meal makes her sexually suspect',[15] even though Corley herself has shown that the level of acceptability for a woman's presence at a meal during the Roman period varies: in some circles, her presence would have been considered fashionable, in others, deviant.[16] It is probably accurate to say that the woman's presence at the meal may have made her sexually suspect to some people in Luke's own time (that she is so suspect to later interpreters is not in question). Yet, why is it that when readers are given a story that opens to multiple interpretations, from the means by which the anointing woman appeared at the table to the social evaluation of a woman at a Greco-Roman meal, the meanings most often chosen are those that most denigrate and most sexualize the woman?

The depiction of the woman as an intruder persists even though there is no textual evidence that the woman 'enters' at all. There is no verb of entering; in fact, judging from Jesus' statement in v. 45 that 'she has not stopped kissing my feet from the time that I entered', the woman was already there when Jesus arrived. She could be a part of Simon's household, she could even be Simon's girlfriend for all we know, but instead we choose to read her as a stranger, as an intruder.

It is also argued that we know the woman is 'out of place' and that her acts are inappropriate or excessive because of Simon's objections in 7.39.[17] In interior monologue, Simon observes about Jesus, 'If this man

15. Corley, *Private Women*, p. 126.

16. See Corley, 'Were the Women Around Jesus Really Prostitutes?'

17. For example, Luther assumes that Simon's remarks are critical of the woman's intrusion. M. Luther, 'Two Kinds of Righteousness', in J. Pelikan (ed.), *Luther's Works*,

were really a prophet he would know who and what sort touches him; that she is a sinner'. Yet Simon does not object to or criticize anything the woman does; nor does he suggest that her presence at his house and at his table is inappropriate. He only wonders about Jesus' prophetic abilities. If he were a prophet, Simon reasons, he would know that the woman who touches him is a sinner. Moreover, Jesus' comments in 7.44-46 suggest that everything the anointing woman does for him is entirely necessary and expected.

Although Luke's text leaves gaps and hence offers readers a variety of ways to interpret the anointing woman's presence and performance at Simon's house, scholars choose predominantly to depict her as an intrusive prostitute who acts inappropriately and excessively. It is scholars, not Luke, who make of this figure a 'public woman'.

*Response 2: We read her as a prostitute because Luke wants us to read her sexually.* It is not clear if the sexualization of the anointing woman derives from readers making the leap from 'woman sinner' to 'sexual sin', or if Luke introduced that image through a sexual nuancing of the pericope. For example, it has been argued that Luke exacerbates the sexual images and negative presentation of the woman by incorporating various cultural codes into the narrative. Numerous commentaries on the story cite Joachim Jeremias or Strack-Billerbeck's remarks on the connotations of a woman's loose hair. The following passage from Jeremias is often used to assure the reader that the anointing woman is acting immorally by having her hair down, and is therefore, a prostitute:

> How completely the woman was overcome by gratitude towards her savior is shown by the fact that unselfconsciously she took off her head-covering and unbound her hair in order to wipe Jesus' feet, although it was the greatest disgrace for a woman to unbind her hair in the presence of men.[18]

And scholars continue to follow Jeremias even though his sources date two hundred years or more after Luke's text.[19]

XXXI (St Louis: Concordia, 1955), p. 303. Most film versions of the anointing have Simon criticizing the woman for what she does. See F. Zeffirelli (dir.), *Jesus of Nazareth* (382 min.; Van Nuys, CA: LIVE Home Video/ITC Entertainment Group, 1977); P. Sykes and J. Kirsh (dirs.), *Jesus* (83 min.; San Bernardino, CA: Inspirational Films/Warner Brothers, 1979); G. Stevens (dir.), *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (199 min.; New York: MGM/United Artists Entertainment, 1965).

18. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, p. 126.

19. For example, Ravner Winterbotham writes that Jesus was 'mindful of how idly she had decked her hair, how worse than idly used it as a snare, but that she would now for his sake use it to the lowest purpose', R. Winterbotham, 'Simon and the

Luke's heightened attention to the feet of Jesus may also suggest to readers various sexual images. That 'feet' is a euphemism for male genitals not only in Hebrew texts but also in the Septuagint as well as other Hellenistic and Greco-Roman literature has been convincingly argued.[20] Chapter 3 of the book of Ruth, a plausible intertext to Luke's pericope, offers one of the strongest examples of the euphemism. In Ruth 3.3, Naomi tells Ruth to go and anoint (ἀλείφω, LXX) herself, to put on her best clothes, go down to the threshing floor, and hide herself until Boaz has finished eating and drinking. Then, in 3.4, Naomi tells Ruth to go where Boaz is lying down and uncover his feet (καὶ ἐλεύση καὶ ἀποκαλύψεις τὰ πρὸς ποδῶν αὐτοῦ), and Boaz will tell her what else to do.[21] Boaz will then commend Ruth, give her grain (seed), and seek to preserve her (good) reputation. Both Luke and Ruth employ the term ἀλείφω; both present a woman in association with the serving of food; both attend to the 'feet' of the man; and both depict a man as approving of the woman's (surprising and erotic) presence and practice. Also, the verbs κλαίω and καταφιλέω occur in Ruth 1.9, 14, and these are the only two instances where the verbs of wailing and incessant kissing occur together except for Lk. 7.38. I would suspect that a reader familiar with the Ruth story would recognize these two verbs together in the anointing story and remember the Ruth and Boaz scene. I am not arguing that Luke presents the anointing woman as attending to Jesus' genitals; I am merely suggesting that to any reader, first century or present day, familiar with the book of Ruth, Luke's attention to a woman at a man's feet sexually nuances a narrative that portrays a woman in an active role.[22] While it is unclear (and unknowable) if Luke intentionally uses images that suggest sexual impropriety, or even sexuality in a more general sense, or if he labels the woman ἁμαρτωλός to code her sexually, the label and the images are used as justifications for calling the anointing woman a prostitute.

Sinner', in S. Cox (ed.), *The Expositor* (London: Charles Higham, 1885), pp. 214-29.

20. See M. Pope, 'Euphemism and Dysphemism in the Bible', *ABD*, I pp. 720-25; see also A.J. Levine, 'Ruth', in Newsom and Ringe (eds.), *The Women's Bible Commentary*, pp. 78-84. The *locus classicus* is the Delphic oracle in Euripides' *Medea* 679-81: Aegeus must not loosen the 'foot' (πούς)—i.e., spout—of the wineskin until he returns home. This image occurs in connection with sexual reproduction. The critical notes say that πούς indicates the phallus. Denys L. Page, *The Plays of Euripides: Medea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 121.

21. See discussion of these passages in Levine, 'Ruth', p. 81.

22. While John only mentions 'feet' two times, Luke mentions 'feet' seven times in the anointing pericope.

*Observations*

Luke's narrative of Jesus' anointing has gaps, as all texts do, into which readers fill in details. Regardless of the author's intentions, readers typically affix the stigma of sexual immorality or deviance to the woman because they bring certain presuppositions about women and physicality to the pericope, because they choose to emphasize particular terms, and because they interpret the story in light of select intertexts. In other responses, though not as numerous, the physicality of the woman's gestures is transformed into non-physical categories, such as the spiritual and the economic. The source of the threat seems to be her physical body, since the majority of the interpretations seek to appropriate it, and the labeling of the woman as sinner or prostitute and the subsequent annulment of her physicality diminish or neutralize her presence and activity.

Such hermeneutical transformations manifested in the scholarship of Lk. 7 are partially consistent with what Paul De Man describes as a displacement that circumvents something in a text perceived to be dangerous, or at least disruptive to social standards.[23] If, for example, the physicality of the anointing woman is perceived as threatening to the normative social space of the dinner, or to the construction of appropriate Christian behavior, the move to de-physicalize that body reduces her threat.

But the questions remain: What is it about her physicality that is so threatening, and what (or whom) does it threaten? The function of gender construction also provides another interpretive lens for viewing Luke's story and so responding to these final questions. According to David J.A. Clines, the early 'literary portraiture' of Jesus conforms to popular Greco-Roman notions of ideal masculinity,[24] and the one standard by which masculinity is invariably measured is against femininity: 'The primary rule', he says, 'is don't be female'.[25] What does 'being female' mean? According to Bernadette Brooten, one dominant characteristic of what was considered to be the natural, gendered order is that 'the male is naturally active and female naturally passive'.[26] I think Clement of

23. Paul De Man, *Allegories of Reading: Figural Language in Rousseau, Nietzsche, Rilke, and Proust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), pp. 298-300.

24. D.J.A. Clines, '*Ecce Vir*, or, Gendering the Son of Man', in C. Exum and S.D. Moore (eds.), *Biblical Studies/Cultural Studies* (JSOTSup, 266; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp. 352-75.

25. Clines, '*Ecce Vir*', p. 371. Clines is following the typology of J.A. Doyle, *The Male Experience* (Dubuque, IA: William C. Brown, 2nd edn, 1989).

26. Brooten, *Love Between Women*, p. 352.

Alexandria best articulates the principal threat of the anointing narrative: 'But it is entirely different to rub oneself with oil out of necessity [as opposed to being anointed for pleasure]. The one makes a man womanish but to anoint out of necessity is the better' (Διαφέρει δὲ ὅλως τὸ μυραλοιφεῖν τοῦ μύρῳ χρίεσθαι τὸ μὲν γὰρ θηλυδριῶδες, τὸ δὲ χρίεσθαι τῷ μύρῳ καὶ λυσιτελεῖ ἔσθ' ὅτε).[27] Clement's primary distinction between the two categories of anointing is whether or not the anointing is pleasurable or necessary. For Clement there is a correlation between the proper, the 'necessary' anointing of a man and his masculinity, and conformity to gender roles was a principle concern for the early Christian church, as well as, in many cases, for its present-day heirs.

Perhaps Luke was concerned with how his community might perceive Jesus' anointing, and its relationship to his masculinity, particularly his willingness to be a passive partner in an act of pleasurable physicality. Mark, Matthew, and John's accounts of Jesus' anointing by a woman each asserts that the act was in preparation for his burial, and therefore necessary. By connecting the anointing to Jesus' death, as well as, in Mark and Matthew, presenting an anointing of Jesus' head which has implications of royal investiture, the other three gospels diffuse the perceived impropriety of the gestures: it is perfectly acceptable for a woman to anoint a dead man (or, one could say, it is perfectly appropriate for a dead man to be passive). It is unusual but certainly not erotic or even strongly 'physical' for a woman to anoint a man in recognition of this royalty, but even here, the explicit connection of the anointing with Jesus' burial displaces any threat of political impropriety.

By contrast, Luke is the only one not to connect the anointing to Jesus' death. Luke, instead, calls the anointing woman a sinner and contextualizes the story in terms of repentance and forgiveness. The label 'sinner' tags the woman's actions as deviant and inappropriate and thereby deemphasizes or even removes from Jesus the performance of any questionable behavior. Moreover, because of its feminized connotations, it removes any doubts about Jesus' masculinity: the woman retains the role of female. Finally, it foreshadows Jesus' role as the active male who forgives the sins of the sinner. In my reading of Luke and of Luke's interpreters, the denigration of the anointing woman is consequently concerned not ultimately with women at all, but with the identity of men. The anointing woman becomes a type of lightning rod that attracts all the power and danger (represented by her female and/or the eroticized body) away from the body of Jesus so that the edifice of his

27. Clement of Alexandria, *The Teacher*, 2.68.4b in *Christ the Educator* (trans. S.P. Wood; New York: Fathers of the Church Inc., 1954), p. 152.

masculinity remains secure. As Luke presents Jesus to the empire, he conforms to the normative representations of masculinity.

If we understand 'sinner' as gendered feminine, as I think Luke and Luke's community did, then we ourselves might fill in a gap in historical evidence and explain why no woman is ever called a 'sinner' prior to the first century: it would have been redundant. Women are already assumed to be sinners in that they are in opposition to, or less than, the ideal (which is always masculine). And, for readers who accept the tautology of 'woman' and 'sinner', Luke's labeling of the anointing woman must connote something else about her character in addition to what 'sinner' means for men. Readers then assume that this something else is sexual and, given the Bible and the church's ambivalent and often negative depiction of sexuality, they assume the woman's sexual nature and actions to be bad.

This second assumption becomes evident when readers are confronted with various options of interpretation, from the detail of the loose hair to the woman's presence in Simon's house and her contact with Jesus' body: interpreters choose time and again the reading that most denigrates the woman. Rather than understanding the woman's presence at the dinner as appropriate, they depict her as an intruder; rather than view her gestures as Jesus does, namely, as necessary, they regard them as excessive. Rather than celebrate her forgiveness, they emphasize her sinfulness. Such interpretations establish the woman as 'out of place' and so reinforce the labeling of her as a prostitute, since the genealogy of prostitute involves women's physicality perceived to be 'out of place'.

The sexualization of the anointing woman along with its negative valuation may have been the best strategy for disarming a potentially powerful biblical figure. A character viewed as sexualized and (therefore) deviant is easily dismissed as an appropriate medium for God's word: the same phenomenon that happened with Mary of Magdala.

The anointing woman's story has been retold in ways that displace her, render her behavior as excessive, (negatively) sexualize her, and present her as deviant. Her character is reconstructed in order to appropriate her body and thus neutralize the perceived threat of the woman's physicality. And all this serves to protect Jesus' masculinity. Perhaps the time has come to celebrate rather than denigrate this woman: she shows initiative; she has her own economic resources; she is unconcerned with social perception; she is unashamed of her physicality; and her actions prompt Jesus' positive recognition. Perhaps as well the time has come to revision Jesus' masculinity and so those constructed views of appropriate male and female behavior that continue to influence our own culture. But that is another story.

# On the Road with Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Susanna, and Other Disciples—Luke 8.1-3*

Ben Witherington III

> And soon after this he traveled from one city and village to the next proclaiming and bringing the good news of the kingdom of God. The Twelve were with him and also some women who had been healed of spirits of wickedness and sickness—Mary called Magdalene from whom seven demons had gone out, and Joanna, the wife of Chuza, who was the steward of Herod, and Susanna, and many others who were serving them from their own resources (Lk. 8.1-3).

Luke 8.1-3 has the somewhat dubious honor of being one New Testament pericope that has received no treatment in any scholarly journal of the last hundred years. Since this passage has much to say about the role of women in the itinerant ministry of Jesus, we should examine its literary and historical context, and make comments on its content and purpose.

## *Literary Context*

Some scholars have regarded Lk. 8.1 as the beginning of a new section in Luke on the travels of Jesus.[1] This may be questioned on grammatical and thematic grounds. Clearly, Jesus has traveled before (Lk. 4.42-44; 6.1). Further, ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς (afterward) links this passage to what precedes.[2] Luke 8.1-3 is near the middle of a series of pericopes that make special reference to women.[3] There is a slim possibility that Mary Magdalene may have been the woman at the house of Simon the

* Originally published in *ZNW* 70 (1979), pp. 243-48. Reprinted with permission.

1. John Martin Creed, *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (London: Macmillan 1969), pp. 112-13; Frederick W. Danker, *Jesus and the New Age according to St. Luke: A Commentary on the Third Gospel* (St Louis: Clayton, 1972), p. 101.

2. William F. Arndt, *A Commentary: The Gospel According to St. Luke* (St Louis: Concordia, 1956), pp. 121ff.; Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke* (trans. Geoffrey Buswell; New York: Harper, 1961), p. 47.

3. William Manson, *The Gospel of Luke* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1930), pp. xiii-xix, notes 7.11-17, 36-50; 8.1-3; 10.38-42; 13.10-17, and more distantly 23.27-32.

Pharisee which would link this pericope with the preceding one.[4] More certainly, Lk. 8.1-3 is an introduction to and illustration of the teaching of the parable of the sower (8.4-15). The women are the living embodiments of what happens when the sower sows his seed in soil that can receive and nurture it.[5]

In its focus on women, this pericope continues Luke's emphasis on the universalization of the gospel as it breaks down barriers to save (Lk. 2.32; 4.26; 10.29; etc.). The mention of women points forward to the Passion narrative and the part they play, and points out that they were witnesses even from the days of the early Galilean ministry.[6] Women are a continuing theme and example used by Luke as he tries to teach the qualities of a true disciple—one who is loyal and faithful to Christ through trials and joy; one who witnesses to the person and work of Christ; one who serves the Lord and the brethren freely from their own means; and so on. Thus, in 8.1-3, Luke brings together his major themes of discipleship, universalization of the gospel, good news to the poor and downtrodden. As Hans Conzelmann suggests, this pericope may also point out how the bonds of the family of Christ should have priority over the ties of one's family by heredity or marriage.[7] It is a microcosm of the themes of Luke and prepares us for the important roles that both women and the Twelve play in subsequent events, especially the Passion narrative.

### *Historical Context*

Luke 8.1-3 stands in contrast to its historical context in rabbinic Judaism. We know women were allowed to hear the word of God in the

4. Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 5th edn, 1922), pp. 215-16.

5. E. Earle Ellis (ed.), *The Gospel of Luke* (NCB; Greenwood, SC: Attic Press, rev. edn, 1974), p. 124.

6. That they were more than just a hospitality or catering service for the men and Jesus is based on my view of the purpose of this pericope; Lk. 23.49 and 24.8 ('they remembered'); and the likelihood that there were women among the Seventy (Lk. 10.1). For the view that these women only 'waited on table' during the earthly ministry, cf. Martin Hengel, 'Maria Magdalena und die Frauen als Zeugen', in Otto Betz, Martin Hengel, and Peter Schmidt (eds.), *Abraham unser Vater: Juden und Christen im Gespräch über die Bibel* (Festschrift Otto Michel; AGsJU, 5; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963), pp. 243-55 (247-48).

7. Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, pp. 47-48, makes the interesting comment 'it is possible that by this emphasis on the women he forestalls those (claims) of Mary. The Galilean women and Mary seem to stand in a similar relation to one another as the Twelve and the Lord's brethren.'

synagogue but they were never disciples of a rabbi unless their husband or master was a rabbi willing to teach them.[8] Though a woman might be taught certain negative precepts of the Law out of necessity, this did not mean they would be taught rabbinic explanations of the Torah. It was not uncommon for women to support rabbis and their disciples out of their own money, property, or foodstuffs.[9] But for her to leave home and travel with a rabbi was not only unheard of, it was scandalous. Even more scandalous was the fact that women, both respectable and not, were among Jesus' traveling companions. Yet it was an intended part of his ministry that women be witnesses from the earliest part of his Galilean ministry until his death, and benefit from his teaching and healing. This involved their traveling with him so they would understand and be prepared for the significance of his resurrection when they were called upon to be the last at the cross, first at the tomb, and first to bear witness to the resurrection (Lk. 23.55 –24.11). Jesus rejects much of rabbinic teaching on women's 'flightiness', inferior nature, and monthly ritual uncleanness. This does not mean that Jesus abrogated all sexual, social, or creation order distinctions recognized under the old covenant. Indeed, it seems rather clear that he affirmed the headship and authority of the man when he chose twelve men from among his disciples to be leaders of the community and that Luke wishes to reaffirm this by giving special stress to the Twelve and their distinct roles.

8. This accounts for most, if not all, the examples of scholarly women in first-century Judaism. I do not know of any case of a woman scholar who did not gain her knowledge through contacts in her own home (the servants of Rabbi Judah, the wife of Rabbi Meir). We do not read of them going to any of the rabbinic study houses for more scholarly education.

9. Cf. C.G. Montefiore and H. Loewe, *A Rabbinic Anthology* (London: Macmillan, 1938), who cite *y. Hor.* 48a, 1.44 as occurring about 110 CE (pp. 423-24), and *Est. R.* 2.3 (pp. 415-16, 23-25). I. Epstein and H. Freedman (eds.), *The Babylonian Talmud: Seder Mo'ed* (London: Soncino Press, 1938), I, p. 290, cite *b. Šab.* 62a, where a discerning woman could be a charity overseer. See *Ber.* 10b, on taking advantage of a woman's generosity. See Lk. 20.47 and parallels; Josephus, *Ant.* 9; *b. B. Qam.* 119a; Str-B, II, p. 164; Salo Wittmayer Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America; New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), II, pp. 240, 412-13, indicating that women could be called *mater synagogarum.* See Jean Baptiste Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum* (Sussidi allo Studio delle Antichità Cristiane, 1; Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1936), p. 384 n. 523; p. 436 n. 606; pp. 457-58 n. 639. They were called ἀρχισυνάγωγος, due to financial support or their respectability, not their leadership; cf. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, p. 457 n. 638; W. Schrage, 'ἀρχισυνάγωγος', *TDNT*, VII, pp. 844-52 (846 and n. 20).

*Content of the Text*

In its form and content this passage is distinctively Lukan. J.M. Creed lists the following elements as characteristic of Luke's style and vocabulary.[10]

1. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ...καὶ αὐτός
2. καθεξῆς
3. διώδευεν
4. εὐαγγελιζόμενος
5. ἀσθενειῶν

Syntactically, these verses create a problem for translation in that they form one long sentence of three parts, 8.1a, 8.1b, and 8.2-3.[11] Luke's fondness for parallelism may be seen in his use of κηρύσσω (proclaim) and εὐαγγελίζω (bring good news); Θεραπεύω (heal, serve) and διακονέω (serve, care for); πνεῦμα (spirit) and δαιμόνιον (evil spirit).

The two words κηρύσσω and εὐαγγελίζω serve to complement each other in this case.[12] Jesus not only proclaims the kingdom, he brings it in as is witnessed by those women among his followers whom he has healed of 'spirits of wickedness and sickness'.[13] The first woman mentioned, Mary Magdalene, is the best known, possibly because her healing was the most dramatic (i.e. seven demons indicates a possession of extraordinary malignity).[14] Mary of Magdala is commonly placed first when listed with other women (Mt. 27.56-61; 28.1; Mk 15.40-47; 16.1; Lk. 24.10). She is undoubtedly important, and Luke wishes to mention her, so her

10. Creed, *The Gospel According to St. Luke*, pp. 112-13.

11. J. Reiling and J.L. Swellengrebel, *A Translator's Handbook on the Gospel of Luke* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971), p. 326.

12. As Reiling (*A Translator's Handbook*, pp. 326-27) says, κηρύσσω and εὐαγγελίζω supplement each other here. The first word stresses a note of authority; the latter implies the idea of good tidings (Lk. 3.18; 4.43). G. Friedrich, 'εὐαγγελίζομαι', *TDNT*, II, pp. 707-37 (715 n. 90), suggests 'proclaims and declares' and adds that the combination of these two words gives us a comprehensive picture of the whole activity of Jesus—his whole life was a gospel proclamation (p. 718; cf. also p. 728 n. 59).

13. The grammatical structure would warrant putting ἀσθένεια with πευμάτων (cf. Lk. 13.11). Theologically we may have here the association of physical illnesses with either demons or the work of the devil in general. W. Foerster, 'δαίμων, δαιμόνιον', *TDNT*, II, pp. 120; G. Stählin, 'ἀσθενής, ἀσθένεια', *TDNT*, I, pp. 490-93. 'Θεραπεύω' in secular Greek means 'to serve' and has the same meaning as διακονέω. Thus, we see Luke's fondness for parallelism coming to the fore. Jesus serves these women by healing, and they in turn serve out of gratitude. It is true that in the New Testament θεραθεύω is never used with only the sense of 'to serve' (but cf. Acts 1.25). Here I translate 'to heal' which deals not only with sickness, but exorcism as well (cf. H.W. Beyer, 'θεραπεύω', *TDNT*, III, pp. 128-32).

14. Cf. K. Rengstorf, 'ἑπτά', *TDNT*, II, pp. 627-35 (630-31).

special devotion and witness in Lk. 24 will be seen as the proclamation of someone who has long been one of his disciples. Similarly, Joanna is a long-time disciple, present with Mary at the tomb and the upper room, and thereafter bearing witness. She is very unlike Mary of Magdala who came from a small town and was undoubtedly an 'untouchable' until Jesus healed her. Joanna is wife to Chuza who managed Herod's estate.[15] Thus, she was a woman of some means and prominence. The gospel breaks down class and economic divisions and reconciles men and women from all walks of life into one community. The third woman, Susanna, though perhaps known to Luke's audience, is unknown to us and is not mentioned elsewhere in the gospel. Luke intends for us to understand that these three women were only the most prominent among ἕτεραι πολλαί[16] women that followed Jesus. We again see the theme, so often stressed in Luke, that the Good News was heard and received by many of the poor and oppressed. For women especially it was good news to be healed and treated as disciples who could continue in the master's presence and learn from him. Here was liberty, but it did not lead these women to be libertines. Rather, it freed them to serve both Jesus and the disciples (αὐτοῖς [them])[17] ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων (out of their resources.)[18] This meant something unique. The traditional roles of

15. Danker, *Jesus and the New Age*, p. 101, says that 'the mention of Joanna not only shows a possible source of Luke's information, but also that the gospel has penetrated Herod's own establishment'.

16. Reiling, *A Translator's Handbook*, p. 327, says that these are to be distinguished from the 'some women' of Lk. 8.2, who had been healed and were part of the group of disciples travelling with Jesus: αἵ τινες seems to indicate that all these women provided for Jesus and the Twelve.

17. There is a textual problem here: αὐτῷ has good support from ℵ, A, L, Tertullian, Cyprian, etc., but it is likely a Christocentric correction of a later period. The preferred reading αὐτοῖς has good support from various Alexandrian, Western, and Caesarean texts; cf. Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament: A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament* (New York: United Bible Societies, 3rd edn, 1971), p. 144. Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, p. 216, remarks that αὐτοῖς has a special point: 'It is precisely because Jesus now had twelve disciples who always accompanied him that there was need of such support from other disciples'. Διακονέω has its most common sense here of 'to serve' as in providing material aid (cf. H.W. Beyer, 'διακονέω, διακονία, διάκονος', *TDNT*, II, pp. 81-93 [85]; K.H. Rengstorf, 'διδάσκω, διδάσκαλος', *TDNT*, II, pp. 135-65 [154-55]). Could this be the background or precedent for the later order and functions of deaconesses? (cf. Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, p. 47 n. 1; Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke*, p. 124).

18. τὰ ὑπάρχοντα means literally 'substance' as in one's belongings (money, property). Cf. Reiling, *A Translator's Handbook*, p. 328; BAGD, p. 845; George Abbott-Smith, *A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Cark, 3rd edn,

hospitality and service could be seen as a way to serve not merely the physical family, but also the family of faith. Being Jesus' disciples did not lead these women to abandon their traditional roles in regard to preparing food, serving, and so on. Rather, it gave these roles new significance and importance, for now they could be used to serve the master and the family. The transformation of these women involved not only assuming new discipleship roles, but also resuming their traditional roles for a new purpose. Luke admirably preserves the tension between the old and the new in regard to women's roles in the Christian community.

### *Purpose of the Text*

It is no accident that Luke places this text early in his gospel. He wishes to show that these women had been witnesses from the beginning of Jesus' ministry in Galilee and thus were valid witnesses of the resurrection and for the church (Lk. 23.55 and Acts 1.14).

In light of what has been said, it appears that the purposes of this pericope are: (1) to reveal the proper response to the healing and teaching of Jesus Christ—true discipleship involves serving the Lord and the brethren in whatever way is needed from whatever resources one has; (2) to point out that women are equally called to be disciples and witnesses as part of the universal spread of the gospel; (3) to show that Jesus brings in the 'acceptable day of the Lord' which liberates the captives and the poor (women fitting one or both categories), and which fulfills Joel's prophecy (3.1-5) of women speaking God's word;[19] (4) to show the continuing loyalty of these women as disciples of Christ—that they were prepared to be the 'last at the cross, first at the tomb'; (5) to point out women of prominence, at least known in the early Palestinian

1937), p. 457; J.H. Moulton and G. Milligan (eds.), *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1930), pp. 650-51. Obviously, some of these women could give only their time and talents, perhaps in making meals or clothes. Cf. Arndt, *The Gospel According to St. Luke*, p. 223; C.B. Caird, *The Gospel of St. Luke* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 116, says that the well-to-do women underwrote the expenses of the group. Jesus did not lower the status or value of such work; indeed, he gave it an esteemed place in the community as a good and necessary service. He did not see the high calling of discipleship as in any way inconsistent with women continuing to serve in the roles and functions that were normally their only lot in life. By his own act of foot-washing the disciples, Jesus elevated all such service and bore witness that it was a viable way of loving one's Lord, neighbor, family, or fellow disciple. Only when such tasks interfere with giving undivided attention and allegiance to Jesus, did he make clear that such tasks are of secondary importance (cf. Lk. 10.38-42).

19. Stephen G. Wilson, *The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke–Acts* (SNTSMS, 23; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p. 61.

church, who were some of the first to be healed and liberated to a position of equality with men; (6) to indicate possibly that these women were a source of Luke's information on the birth of Christ, the court of Herod, parts of his ministry, and so on;[20] (7) to serve as an introduction and illustration of the parable that follows—that the 'good soil' was not limited to a particular class, race, or sex; (8) to present 8.1-3 and 4.38-42 as examples of the fulfillment of Scripture Jesus read in 4.18-22.

Table 1

| Lk. 4.18-19 (Isa. 61.1-2) | Lk. 4.38-43 | Lk. 8.1-3 |
|---|---|---|
| [18] preach Good News to poor | [38] Jesus heals Simon's mother-in-law | [1] preach and proclaim |
| Recovery of sight to blind | [40] Jesus heals sick with various diseases | Good News |
| Set at liberty the oppressed | [41] demons cast out | [2] heal evil spirits and illnesses in women |
| [19] proclaim acceptable Year of the Lord | [43] preach Good News to other cities | [2-3] examples of captives released (women) |

20. Nigel Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*. IV. *Style* (ed. J.M. Hope; 4 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1976), pp. 12-17.

# THE LUKAN MARY MAGDALENE AND THE OTHER WOMEN FOLLOWING JESUS*

Esther A. de Boer

In contrast to the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, Luke introduces Mary Magdalene not at the cross, but rather at the beginning of Jesus' ministry, in the third of the summaries of his activities. In the first summary, covering the period following the temptation in the wilderness, Luke relates: 'And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee, and a report concerning him went out through all the surrounding country. And he taught in their synagogues glorified by all' (Lk. 4.14).

In the second summary, a response to the people in Capernaum who try to keep him from leaving, Luke's Jesus himself explains his purpose: 'I must preach the good news of the kingdom of God to the other cities also; for I was sent for this purpose' (Lk. 4.43). Luke then adds that Jesus 'was preaching in the synagogues of Judea' (Lk. 4.44). During this time, Jesus appears to have gathered a great crowd of disciples from whom he chooses 12 and names them 'apostles' (Lk. 6.12-17). To this point, no women disciples are explicitly noted.

When Luke for the third time summarizes Jesus' activities, Mary Magdalene is mentioned:

> Soon afterward he went through cities and villages, preaching and bringing the good news of the kingdom of God. And the Twelve were with him, and also some women who had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities: Mary called Magdalene, from whom seven demons had gone out, and Joanna the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susanna and many others, who provided for them[1] out of their means (Lk. 8.1-3).

* I thank Professor Dr R. Roukema and Professor Dr C. Vander Stichele for their useful commentary and their encouragement during the writing of this essay. I wish to express my special gratitude to Paula Pumplin for her comments on the English text.

1. Some texts read 'him'. However, the singular looks like a harmonization with Mk 15.41 or Mt. 27.55. See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I–IX* (AB, 28; Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1981), p. 698, and Turid K. Seim, *The Double Message: Patterns of Gender in Luke–Acts* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1994; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994), p. 58. This is in contrast to H. Schürmann, *Das Lukasevangelium* (HTKNT, 3;

Luke's introduction of Mary Magdalene in a summary of Jesus' early ministry is strikingly different from the late and sudden introductions in Mk 15.40-41 and Mt. 27.55-56.[2] Another difference is that the Markan and Matthean *ministry to* Jesus has become in Luke a *support for* Jesus and his followers, provided out of the women's means. Also notably different is the mention of the Twelve as well as of Joanna and Susanna. An entirely new feature is the statement that the women had been healed. In fact, the only similarity between Mark and Matthew's accounts on the one hand and Luke's on the other is a large group of women divided into named and unnamed persons.

### *Women and Discipleship in Luke*

By mentioning Mary Magdalene and the other women in this early summarizing statement, Luke makes the women followers of Jesus more visible than they are in the other synoptics. We do not need to leaf back from the crucifixion narrative and assume their presence when the words 'crowds' or 'disciples' appear. We are rather encouraged to take as given that they are everywhere Jesus goes. They are 'with him' like the Twelve. Although they do not specifically appear again until the crucifixion, Luke assures the reader of the women's consistent presence. The gospel makes this clear at the end when it relates that all Jesus' acquaintances watched the crucifixion, including the women who had followed him from Galilee onwards (Lk. 23.49; cf. 23.55; 24.1, 6, 10).[3] Thus Luke shows that the women followed Jesus from the beginning of his ministry until the end.

Luke's portrayal of the activities of the women disciples, however, is strikingly different from that of Mark and Matthew. The women do not

Freiburg: Herder, 1969), pp. 444, 447; Carla Ricci, *Mary Magdalene and Many Others: Women Who Followed Jesus* (trans. P. Burns; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), pp. 156-58; and R.J. Karris, 'Women and Discipleship in Luke', *CBQ* 56 (1994), pp. 1-20 (6-7) (reprinted in this volume, pp. 23-43); John N. Collins, *Diakonia: Re-interpreting Ancient Sources* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 245-46, interprets the 'them' as a specific Lukan trait to avoid stating 'that ministrations at table were directed exclusively at the Lord'(p. 246). The shift is rather to the Lord who breaks the bread, who refreshes and satisfies. Cf. Lk. 12.37; 13.29; 22.16, 24-30; 24.29-31.

2. For a detailed exegesis of Mk 15.40-41 see Esther A. de Boer, 'Discipleship of Equals and Historical "Reality" ', in Kune Biezeveld (ed.), *Proeven van Vrouwenstudies Theologie* VI (6 vols.; Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2000), pp. 99-123.

3. Note the difference with Matthew. The women did not decide to follow Jesus when he left Galilee (ἠκολούθησαν: aorist ingressive) as in Mt. 27.55 but here in Lk. 23.49 have been following him from Galilee onwards (συνακολουθοῦσαι: indicative durative).

serve only Jesus, as in the other synoptics, but they serve the Twelve as well; thus Luke is either suggesting that their serving has nothing to do with the serving that Jewish disciples owe to their rabbis[4] or implying that they are disciples of both Jesus and the Twelve. Yet the latter is improbable since the Twelve are still disciples themselves. Although they are called apostles, they have not yet received their specific instruction (cf. Lk. 6.12-17; 9.1-2).

Some scholars argue that Luke portrays the women as conforming to typical gender roles. C.F. Evans, for example, concludes from Lk. 8.1-3:

> This is the only explicit explanation (Mark 14.50f. is only implicit) of how Jesus and his immediate companions were able to travel so extensively, especially in Luke's account, without working to support themselves. It also establishes the function of women disciples as material care and not preaching and healing.[5]

According to Josef Ernst, Jesus' allowing women to follow him shows his open attitude toward them. About 8.1-3 he writes: 'Lk sieht wie Jesus in der Frau das Kind Gottes, allerdings in einer angepassten gesellschaftlichen Position (die dienende Frau)' (Like Jesus, Luke sees God's child in the woman, to be sure, in an adjusted social position [the serving woman]).[6] Ben Witherington casts this distinct position in an even more beautiful light:

> This meant something unique... Being Jesus' disciple did not lead these women to abandon their traditional roles in regard to preparing food, serving, etc. Rather it gave these roles significance and importance, for now they could be used to serve the Master and the family... Luke admirably preserves the tension between the old and the new in regard to women's roles in the Christian community.[7]

Is this the case? Does Luke, in sharp contrast to Mark, divide the followers of Jesus into two gender-specified categories, portraying the women followers in the typical women's role of providing material care, whereas the male followers are portrayed as spiritually concerned?

In my opinion such a conclusion based on Lk. 8.1-3 is dubious. First

4. See Collins, *Diakonia*, p. 60, and also de Boer, 'Discipleship of Equals', pp. 104-105.

5. C.F. Evans, *Saint Luke* (TPI New Testament Commentaries; London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990), pp. 366-67.

6. J. Ernst, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (RNT; Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Regensburg, 1993), p. 202.

7. Ben Witherington III, 'On the Road with Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Susanna, and Other Disciples—Luke 8.1-3', *ZNW* 70 (1979), pp. 243-48 (247) (reprinted in this volume, pp. 133-39).

and foremost, we should note that Lk. 8.1-3 is not about males and females as such, but about specific men and women: the 12 apostles, some named women, and many unnamed women. Second, Luke in 8.1-3 *describes* the people who are constantly with Jesus. Luke does not *prescribe* how men and women are to behave in gender-specified discipleship roles. Third, a close look at Lk. 8.1-3 within the context of the Gospel of Luke as a whole gives quite another, more nuanced view on the role of the women in this text.

Luke's use of the verb διακονεῖν differs from that of Mark and Matthew. In Luke's context the verb clearly means the preparing of food and waiting at table.[8] This is done by women and slaves. However, Luke also relates the story about Martha: Jesus insists she should not be absorbed by her serving and encourages her to take time and learn from him (Lk. 10.38-42). Furthermore, the dutiful and unrewarded serving carried out by slaves is presented as a positive example to Jesus' followers (Lk. 17.7-10), and Jesus promises that the Lord will invite all who served and will serve them at his table (Lk. 12.35-37). Indeed, the preparing of food and waiting at table in this gospel is also done by the male disciples. As in Mark and Matthew's accounts, the disciples distribute the food when Jesus is feeding the people (Lk. 9.14-15), and Peter and John prepare the Passover meal themselves (Lk. 22.7-13). Serving in the Lukan sense of preparing food and waiting at table is obviously not a role reserved only for women. It is a discipleship role for all.

Luke relates that the women who follow Jesus provide out of their means (Lk. 8.3).[9] This does not necessarily mean that the women are rich.[10] Luke's point is that the women use what they themselves own for

8. Lk. 10.40; 12.37; 17.7-10; 22.26-30 are clear examples. Perhaps because of this we should also interpret the serving of Simon's mother-in-law in Lk. 4.39 as preparing food.

9. For David C. Sim, 'The Women Followers of Jesus: The Implications of Luke 8.1-3', *HeyJ* 30 (1989), pp. 51-62 (55-60), Lk. 8.1-3 thus gives no information whatsoever about the day-to-day role of the women followers. Sim argues that Luke only says that they donated their money; their role as disciples is not being described. On the basis of 10.38-42 Sim concludes that they apparently were expected 'to be faithful and attentive students...' (p. 60). On the basis of the same pericope, however, I conclude that their providing consisted of more than donating money and could have been a highly regarded, significant role (cf. Acts 6.1-4).

10. Sim, 'Women Followers', pp. 52-53, suggests that they were not wealthy, wealth and discipleship being incompatible. He suggests that they 'combined their monetary resources to make a common fund'. According to him this is 'the most logical explanation for the early church's "experiment in communism" (Acts 2.44-45; 4.32-5.11). The Jerusalem church simply adopted the economic system which operated at the time of Jesus' ministry'.

the benefit of all. They thus model an important Lukan ideal: distributing their means in order to provide for those in need (cf. Acts 4.32-35).

In other words, when one reads Lk. 8.1-3 within the context of the gospel as a whole, it becomes apparent that Luke is portraying the serving women in a discipleship role. They are practicing an important Christian ideal, not one restricted to women, but one meant for all believers.

### *Who is Ministering to Whom?*

The long sentence construction of Lk. 8.1-3 raises several questions, the first being 'who is ministering to whom?' The sentence, having four subjects—Jesus, the Twelve, some named women, many others unnamed—could be divided in two parts: Jesus and the Twelve on the one hand and the named and unnamed women on the other. This would imply that all the women provide for all the men. The sentence can also be interpreted as an inclusion: providing the frame are Jesus and the unnamed women, each with their own active verbs; enclosed are the Twelve and the named women, who have no active verbs of their own but are said to be 'with him'. The unnamed women in this configuration provide for Jesus and the Twelve as well as for Mary Magdalene, Joanna, and Susanna.

Luke 8.1-3 thus allows two quite different answers to the question of who provides for whom: either all the women provide for all the men, or the many unnamed women provide for Jesus, the Twelve, Mary Magdalene, Joanna, and Susanna.[11] The latter interpretation would mean that, according to Luke, the women following Jesus did not all have the same role. According to this interpretation, Lk. 8.1-3 itself contradicts the assumption that Luke restricts women to typical gender roles.

The latter interpretation seems the more appropriate one,[12] since

11. No other author seems to make a point of this. Without any argument αὐτοῖς in 8.3 is supposed to refer exclusively to the men. See Theodor Zahn, *Das Evangelium des Lukas* (Kommentar zum Neuen Testament; Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1913), pp. 339-40; J. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, p. 698; S. Heine, *Frauen der frühen Christenheit: Zür historischen Kritik einer feministischen Theologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), p. 69; Seim, *Double Message*, p. 57; Barbara E. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part? Women in the Gospel of Luke* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1996), p. 126; and H. Melzer-Keller, *Jesus und die Frauen: Eine Verhältnisbestimmung nach den synoptischen Überlieferungen* (Herders Biblische Studien, 14; Freiburg: Herder, 1997), p. 195.

12. I do not follow the view of Karris, 'Women and Discipleship', p. 9, that the women in 8.1-3 used their resources to go on mission for Jesus (which is one of the meanings of 'diakonia' suggested by Collins, *Diakonia*, in his major philological study

Luke's story about Martha and Mary actually shows different types of women's behavior in relation to Jesus: Mary listens to Jesus' teaching, and Martha provides (Lk. 10.38-42). This story also very realistically reveals the conflict inherent with regard to gender roles: Martha urges Jesus to command Mary to help her.

In another way Luke does not allow the reader simply to visualize Jesus and the Twelve surrounded by women who merely provide. The story about Martha and Mary clearly shows Jesus to be in favor of Mary's learning, although Martha reminds him that Mary's womanly duty is, instead, to provide. Elsewhere in Luke's gospel, hearing the word of God and doing it, with regard to women, is also more highly valued than gender-specified duties and privileges (cf. 8.21; 11.27-28).

At the end of the gospel, Luke demonstrates that the women followers from Galilee indeed listened to Jesus' words and remembered them. Having found Jesus' tomb empty, they are asked by the 'men' at the tomb to remember what Jesus said about the Son of Man being delivered into the hands of sinful men, crucified, and on the third day rising again (Lk. 24.6-7). Luke then states: 'And they remembered his words' (24.8). Luke thus emphasizes that not only the men but also the women following Jesus did so first and foremost to learn from him.

Furthermore, this reference shows that Luke includes the women within the masculine plural 'disciples': Lk. 24.6-8 refers back to Lk. 9.18-22 where Jesus, who is alone with his disciples and commands them to tell no one about his pronouncement (Lk. 9.21), utters the words that the women at the tomb remember. The *many* women can also be included in Luke's use of 'disciples' since Luke, in contrast to Mark and Matthew, speaks of a 'great crowd of disciples' (Lk. 6.17; 19.37; Acts 6.2).

However, when Luke's Jesus describes the cost of discipleship he seems, in contrast to Mark and Matthew, to aim exclusively at men: 'If any one comes to me and does not hate his own father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters, yes, even his own life, he cannot be my disciple' (Lk. 14.26; cf. Mk 10.28-30; Mt. 10.37-40). The disciples are to hate their wives and children: the husband is strikingly absent (see also Lk. 18.29). Is this simply an androcentric way of putting things, or does this verse indicate that only men can be disciples? The same question may be posed to Lk. 8.21, where Luke omits the Markan and Matthean splitting of the 'brothers' into 'sister' and 'brother' (cf. Mk 3.33-35; Mt. 12.48-49). Nevertheless Luke, unlike Mark and Matthew,

of the word), since, in my interpretation this would mean that the unnamed women went on mission for Jesus as well as for the Twelve and Mary Magdalene, Joanna, and Susanna. However, the suggestion remains challenging.

does not hesitate to use the singular female noun μαθήτρια (Acts 9.36). Perhaps in Luke's view women are not supposed to hate their husbands and to take the initiative to abandon them to lead ascetic lives. Turid K. Seim, referring to the wholly male-oriented Lukan language concerning marriage, divorce, and remarriage (Lk. 16.18; 20.37-38), suggests that for Luke the women disciples either remained married, or did not have a husband because they were widows, divorced, never married, or abandoned.[13]

The women in Lk. 8.1-3 left their daily lives to travel with Jesus and his apostles. This pericope does not portray the women in a typical woman's role. That some of the women are said to have been healed from evil spirits and infirmities may indicate that they were on the fringes of society. The mention of Joanna being the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, strengthens this view, since already Lk. 3.19-20 makes clear that Herod is notorious for his evil deeds. In fact, this connection to the Herodian court gives Joanna a dubious status comparable to that of a tax collector.[14]

### *Healed Women Followers*

A second difficulty in interpreting the long sentence of Lk. 8.1-3 involves the number of the healed women. If the words ἕτεραι πολλαί are to be interpreted as grammatically subordinate to γυναῖκές τινες and are read in one breath with the three named women, the implication is that both the named and unnamed women would have been healed. However, καὶ ἕτεραι πολλαί may also be interpreted as coordinative to γυναῖκές τινες, Jesus and the Twelve, meaning that only the three named women were healed.[15] I opt for the latter interpretation, since the idea that *some* women would consist of three named persons together with *many* others is unlikely.[16]

13. See, e.g., Sim, 'Women Followers', pp. 53-55, who argues that the women followers generally must have been non-married women, single women being less restricted in first-century Palestinian society.

14. Seim, *Double Message*, p. 37; see also her n. 39.

15. Most authors do not discuss these two possibilities. Either all women being healed is taken for granted (Fitzmyer, *Luke*, p. 697; Seim, *Double Message*, p. 39); or only three women being healed (Zahn, *Evangelium des Lukas*, p. 339; Schürmann, *Das Lukasevangelium*, p. 45).

16. With Ricci, *Mary Magdalene*, p. 127, and against Melzer-Keller, *Jesus und die Frauen*, p. 195 n. 27, who argues that 'many others' must enhance the list of cured women (referring to BDF §306.2) where there is no reference to Lk. 8.1-3, but to Mt. 15.30, ἑτέρους πολλούς not being preceded by τινες. Indeed, ἕτερος must refer to the

Compared to Mark and Matthew's accounts, Luke's emphasis on the marginalized status of the named women following Jesus is unique, as is his notification of their being healed. Seim suggests that the healing of women throughout Luke's volumes demonstrates their restoration to the community: they are 'daughters of Abraham' (Lk. 13.16; cf. 8.48) and thus share in God's promise of blessing.[17] Moreover, in contrast to Mark and Matthew, Luke demonstrates Jesus' miraculous power at the beginning of his ministry, before he has any disciples (Lk. 4.34-41);[18] the first three disciples—Peter, James, and John—decide to follow Jesus after they, having followed his instructions, catch an astonishing quantity of fish. Luke thus emphasizes Jesus' power and relates the experience of it to the discipleship of the three core disciples of the male Twelve.

However, Luke not only relates the three women's experience of Jesus' power, but, in contrast to the men, also their need to be cured. Some scholars argue that, according to Luke, whereas the Twelve are called to their discipleship (Lk. 6.12-19), the women only follow Jesus out of gratitude.[19]

Historical investigation offers an alternative interpretation. The common view of the time held that women, because of their womanly nature, were more vulnerable to diseases than men. Philo states:

> The soul has, as it were, a dwelling, partly men's quarters, partly women's quarters. Now for the men there is a place where properly dwell the masculine thoughts [that are] wise, sound, just, prudent, pious, filled with freedom and boldness, and kin to wisdom. And the women's quarters are a place where womanly opinions go about and dwell, being followers of the female sex. And the female sex is irrational and akin to bestial passions, fear, sorrow, pleasure and desire, from which ensue incurable weaknesses and indescribable sicknesses (*Quaest. in Gen.* 4.15).

Philo uses the terms 'male' and 'female' in a metaphorical sense; at the same time they relate to real men and women.[20] Man is the symbol of

other within a unity: however, the unity here need not be only the cured women, but may also be the group of women as a whole.

17. See Seim, *Double Message*, pp. 43-57, about the term 'daughter of Abraham'.

18. According to Luke, in contrast to Mark and Matthew, Peter's mother-in-law is cured before he becomes a disciple (Lk. 4.38-39).

19. Ernst, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, p. 201; Reid, *Choosing the Better Part?*, p. 132; Melzer-Keller, *Jesus und die Frauen*, pp. 198-99; de Boer, *Mary Magdalene* p. 50-51; cf. F. Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (EKKNT, 3; Zürich: Benziger Verlag, 1988), p. 398.

20. That this was generally done, is shown by S. Petersen, *'Zerstört die Werke der Weiblichkeit!' Maria Magdalena, Salome, und andere Jüngerinnen Jesu in christlich-gnostischen Schriften* (Nag Hammadi and Manichean Studies, 48; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999), pp. 309-34.

reason and woman of perception through the senses. Thus men are 'manly' by disposition just as women are 'womanly'. Yet women can be made 'manly' and men can degenerate into 'womanliness' since, just as men should rule over women, so the manly should dominate the womanly in every person: understanding must regulate sensual perception among both men and women. As Philo states, only 'spirits full of the law' can control the womanly impulse. If that does not happen, then illnesses develop, and women are obviously more vulnerable to these illnesses than men. Perhaps this view underlies the unique Lukan description of the three healed women. Luke's addition thus reveals an apologetic touch: the three are not ordinary 'womanly' women anymore; they have become 'manly' since Jesus banished the evil spirits and the sicknesses that were part of their womanly weakness.[21]

Luke only describes the illness of Mary Magdalene: not one demon has gone out of her, nor a legion, but precisely seven (cf. Lk. 4.33; 8.30; 9.42). The seven demons coincide with the Stoic view of the soul as having seven parts difficult to control: the capacities to feel, hear, touch, taste, see, desire, and speak. The eighth part of the soul is the 'commander': it has the task of keeping these different capacities in check and giving direction.[22] To achieve a life in harmony with the Divine, one should free oneself from the claims of the seven, more sensual parts.[23] If this is the context of Mary's seven demons, Jesus, apparently, successfully taught her to control them.[24]

But Luke is far from clear. The seven demons of Mary Magdalene and the illnesses of Joanna and Susanna raise many questions, especially since Luke does not hesitate to specify the ailments of other women,[25] but the gospel gives no clues to enable us to find any definitive explanations concerning the conditions of these three women. Most exegetes

21. Philo, *Quaest. in Gen.* 2.49 and 4.15-148.

22. M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa: Geschichte einer geistigen Bewegung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1948), pp. 87-88. According to Pohlenz, an expert on Stoicism, Stoic philosophy was part of the general knowledge of the Roman period (*Die Stoa*, pp. 363-64).

23. When not healthy, the 'commander' fails to recognize bad influences (Pohlenz, *Die Stoa*, p. 141). Zenon distinguished three powers in this 'hegemonikon': image, drive and reasoning (*logos*). The *logos* is to be the one who rules (Pohlenz, *Die Stoa*, p. 90).

24. *Gos. Thom.* 114 has preserved a tradition that pictures Mary Magdalene as being made 'male' by Jesus. *Apoc. Jas* 38.22-23 describes Jesus' seven women followers as powerless vessels who have become strong by a perception which is in them.

25. High fever (Lk. 4.38-39), flow of blood (Lk. 8.43-48), sick to death (Lk. 8.40-56) and unable to stand upright (Lk. 13.10-17).

suggest that nothing more can be said than that the number seven indicates totality (cf. Lk. 11.21-26), meaning that Mary Magdalene would have been totally possessed and subsequently completely healed.[26] As Carla Ricci phrases it: Mary Magdalene was 'dispossessed of herself' and through Jesus could 'return to self'.[27]

### *No Specific Role for Mary Magdalene, Joanna, and Susanna*

In the same way that Luke does not specify their illnesses, he also does not specify the role of Mary Magdalene, Joanna, and Susanna: like the Twelve they are not connected to active verbs. Later in the gospel, the Twelve receive instruction: Jesus calls them together, gives them power and authority over all demons and diseases, and sends them out to preach the kingdom of God and to heal (Lk. 9.1-2). Nothing special is said about the women, although we might assume that they, and also the other women, could be included in the mission of the Seventy sent out two by two (Lk. 10.1, cf. 1 Cor. 9.5; Phil. 4.2-3). Acts mentions only one married missionary couple, Priscilla and Aquila (Acts 18.2, 26). Luke gives no further indication of mixed couples or of women couples. The other missionary couples in Acts are exclusively male.[28]

Although Mary Magdalene, Joanna, and Susanna in Lk. 8.1-3 seem to be closely connected to the Twelve and are provided for like them, Luke does not give them the same function. Luke affirms this when all the women, named and unnamed, appear as a group over and against the Twelve (Lk. 23.55–24.10). The difference between the two groups is not immediately evident, since it is not based on the act of providing. The Twelve and the women are also on an equal footing with regard to learning from Jesus. Furthermore, Luke's description of them as groups is the same: the Twelve appear to have three core disciples, and so do the women.[29] Only at the beginning of Acts does the difference between them become clear. The Twelve, as men, have leadership roles; the women do not (Acts 1.20-22, cf. 6.3).

However, Luke, throughout the gospel, and more so than Mark and Matthew, describes women playing a prominent part. Luke is especially known for his peculiar 'gender pairs': parallel stories with, respectively, a woman and a man as subject (e.g. the shepherd with his lost sheep and

26. E.g. H. Rengstorff, 'ἑπτα', *TDNT*, II, pp. 627-35 (esp. 629-31).
27. Ricci, *Mary Magdalene*, pp. 133-39, esp. pp. 137, 139, and see also n. 35.
28. Acts 11.30; 15.22, 39, 40; 16.3; 18.5.
29. Peter, James and John (Lk. 5.9-11; 8.51; 9.28) and Mary Magdalene, Joanna and Susanna or Mary of James (Lk. 8.1-3; 24.10).

the woman with her lost coin [Lk. 15.3-7, 8-10]).[30] Luke seems to be consciously aiming at an audience of both men and women, although Tal Ilan, referring to Jewish parallels, suggests that the gender pairs are a literary convention of the time that indicates the storyteller's perception of what is typical of women and of men.[31] Turid Karlsen Seim, who does support the view that Luke consciously addresses both women and men, concludes that 'at the same time, he conveys a picture of a world divided by gender, of a culture and a mediation of tradition in which men and women, within the same community, nevertheless keep each to their own sphere of life'.[32]

Seim draws attention to the fact that, although Luke has several more stories about women than do Mark and Matthew,[33] the story of the Syro-Phoenician/Canaanite woman who boldly questions Jesus' rejecting attitude to non-Jews and is praised for her faith, is strikingly absent (cf. Mk 7.24-30; Mt. 15.24-30).[34] Rather, the silent and receiving Mary, sister of

30. See Seim, *Double Message*, pp. 11-24. She mentions Zechariah and Mary (Lk. 1.11-20, 26-38, 46-55, 67-79), Simeon and Anna (Lk. 2.25-35, 36-38), Naaman and the widow in Zarephta (Lk. 4.25-27), Jairus' daughter and the widow's son (Lk. 8.40-56; 7.11-17), Jairus and the woman with the issue of blood (Lk. 8.40-41, 49-56; 8.43-48), the men of Nineveh and the queen of the South (Lk. 11.31-32), a man healed on Sabbath and a woman healed on Sabbath (Lk. 14.1-6; 13.10-17), Abraham's son and Abraham's daughter (Lk. 19.9; 13.16), a man who sowed a seed and a woman who hid yeast (Lk. 13.18-19, 20-21), a shepherd with sheep and a woman with coins (Lk. 15.3-7, 8-10), men sleeping and women grinding (Lk. 17.34-35), Peter at the tomb and women at the tomb (Lk. 24.12; 24.1-11), Aeneas and Tabitha (Acts 9.32-35, 36-42). See Seim, *Double Message*, p. 15.

31. Tal Ilan, *Mine and Yours are Hers: Retrieving Women's History from Rabbinic Literature* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), pp. 269-73.

32. Seim, *Double Message*, p.24.

33. The women stories unique to Luke are: Elizabeth, Mary and Anna (1.5-7, 24-66; 2.36-52); the widow at Nain (7.11-17); the woman sinner (7.36-50); Mary Magdalene, Joanna, and Susanna, and many other women following Jesus (8.1-3); Martha and Mary (10.38-42); the woman from the crowd (11.27-28); the woman who could not stand upright (13.10-17); the woman with the coins (15.8-10); the widow and the judge (18.1-8); the women wailing (23.27-31).

34. Seim, *Double Message*, p. 56; *eadem*, 'Gospel of Luke', in E. Schüssler Fiorenza (ed.), *Searching the Scriptures: A Feminist Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1995), pp. 728-62 (738, 747-48). One may object that Luke's Jesus in contrast to Mark and Matthew only mixes with Jews. However, Luke does relate Matthew's story about Jesus and the Roman centurion, simply by adding Jews who act on his behalf (Lk. 7.5, cf. Mt. 8.5-6). Why did Luke not alter the story of the Phoenician woman in the same way, by adding Jews who act on her behalf? The inclusion of the story of the Roman centurion in Luke makes the absence of the story of the Syro-Phoenician woman even more striking: the two stories together would have formed a very good Lukan gender pair.

Martha, is referred to as a role model (Lk. 10.38-42). As Jane Schaberg notes, learning is often done in dialogues (e.g. Lk. 5.1-11; 8.4-15; 9.10-11), but Mary's study is not described as such. Furthermore, what she learns remains private and is evidently not meant to instruct the community as a whole.[35] Luke does speak favorably of women when their strength and perseverance are concerned in hearing the word of God and doing it, in prayer and in the sharing of possessions.[36] Yet as Seim rightly concludes, 'the rest is silence'.[37]

Assuming that Luke pictures all the women in Lk. 8.1-3 as having been healed, Seim analyzes every in Luke story concerning women's healings.[38] She concludes that Luke describes these women primarily as passive recipients, not as active persons taking initiative.[39] In the one account where a woman does actively seek her cure (Lk. 8.43-48), Luke omits the Markan and Matthean verse in which she herself explains her action (Lk. 8.44, cf. Mk 5.28-29; Mt. 9.21-22). Similarly, Luke regularly introduces women whom the reader is to imagine speaking, but who at the same time are silenced since Luke grants them no actual voice.[40] The major exceptions are Elizabeth and Mary in the infancy stories (Lk. 1.24-60).[41] As we shall see later in his story of the empty tomb, Luke, unlike Mark and Matthew, makes it very clear that Mary Magdalene and the other women receive no instruction whatsoever to go and tell what they have seen and heard to others.

Luke definitely portrays the Galilean women as disciples through the use of the grammatically masculine plural of 'disciples' (Lk. 24.6-7, cf. 9.18-22). As disciples they know Jesus' words and remember them, even those words about the suffering and resurrection of the Son of Man which were only told in private. As disciples they follow Jesus like the Twelve. Like the Twelve, Mary Magdalene, Joanna, and Susanna are with Jesus, and they are provided for by many unnamed women disciples. They all follow Jesus from the start until the very end. However, although the specific roles of the Twelve and the unnamed women disciples become

35. J. Schaberg, 'Luke', in C.A. Newsom and S.H. Ringe (eds.), *The Women's Bible Commentary* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), pp. 275-304 (288-89).

36. Lk. 18.1-8; 1.36-39 (cf. Acts 1.14) and 21.1-4; 8.2-3; cf. Acts 9.36-39.

37. Seim, *Double Message*, p. 745.

38. Lk. 4.38-39; 7.11-17; 8.40-56; 13.10-17.

39. Seim, *Double Message*, pp. 39-57. See also Melzer-Keller, *Jesus und die Frauen*, pp. 278-300.

40. E.g. Lk. 2.36-39; 8.47; 13.13; 23.27; 24.9-10; Acts 1.14; 9.39; 12.13-15; 18.26; 21.9.

41. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part?*, p. 52, concludes that apart from the infancy narratives 'women who speak in the rest of the gospel are reprimanded by Jesus or are disbelieved'.

clear, nothing is said about the role of Mary Magdalene, Joanna, and Susanna. Luke instead emphasizes the fact that they have been healed and focuses on the character of Mary Magdalene's ailment.

### *Luke's Story of Mary Magdalene*

Luke's story about Mary Magdalene begins in Lk. 8.1-3. Readers are encouraged to visualize her, together with the Twelve and several other women, everywhere Jesus goes. They all travel with him in Galilee (Lk. 4.14–9.50), they follow him on his way to Jerusalem (Lk. 9.51-19.27), and they stay with him, even until the crucifixion. In Luke's account the disciples do not flee at Jesus' arrest, as they do in the other synoptics. Not only the women followers watch the crucifixion, but all who knew Jesus. Even the crowds are watching and, when he dies, they beat their breasts in sorrow. On his way to the cross, Jesus encounters women already wailing for him, whom he addresses as 'daughters of Jerusalem' and whom he tells to cry not for him, but for themselves. 'For', as he says, 'if they do this to the green wood, what shall be done with the dry?' (Lk. 23.31).

What the Galilean women see at the crucifixion differs significantly from the events described in the other synoptics. The darkness is there, but Luke explains it as a solar eclipse and relates no other special signs of nature. As in Mark and Matthew's accounts, the curtain of the Temple is torn in two, but the centurion does not declare Jesus to be the Son of God. Instead he emphasizes Jesus' innocence by calling him 'righteous' (δικαῖος). As in Mark and Matthew, Jesus is mocked by the Jewish leaders, but in Luke, although the crowds are present, they do not mock him. Instead the soldiers do. In contrast to Mathew and Mark, only one of the two criminals crucified with Jesus derides him; in turn, he is rebuked by the other, who asks Jesus to remember him when he comes into his kingdom (Lk. 23.39-43; cf. Mk 15.27, 32; Mt. 27.38, 44).

Luke also portrays Jesus differently. He cries out not 'My God, my God, why did you abandon me?' (cf. Mk 15.34; Mt. 27.46), but 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do' (Lk. 23.34).[42] And to one of those crucified with him he says, 'Verily, I say to you, today you will be with me in Paradise' (Lk. 23.43). In Mark and Matthew, when Jesus is dying he only shouts (cf. Mt. 27.50; Mk 15.37), but in Luke he cries out loudly, 'Father, into your hands I commend my spirit' (Lk. 23.46).

Only then does Luke single out the Galilean women. In contrast to

42. This text is missing in various early and important manuscripts. See Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, pp. 1503-1504.

Mark and Matthew, Luke acknowledges that they all are present at the burial of Jesus by Joseph of Arimathea and that they together prepare spices and ointments (Lk. 23.55-56). They then rest on the Sabbath, according to the commandment. Luke gives the same reason as Mark does for the visit to the tomb: to anoint the body of Jesus (Lk. 24.1; Mk 16.1-2). In contrast to Mark and Matthew's accounts, however, these women are not Mary Magdalene and 'one or two others'. For Luke they are those women 'who had come with Jesus from Galilee' (Lk. 23.55; cf. Mk 15.40-42; Mt. 27.55-56).

The women are perplexed when they find the tomb empty. Two men in shining garments encourage them to remember how Jesus himself, while he was in Galilee, had said that he had to suffer and rise (Lk. 9.18-22). At this point Luke declares: 'And they remembered his words' (Lk. 24.8). Some scholars argue that the women remember the words, but without understanding.[43] Seim refers to two instances where Peter, upon remembering the words of the Lord, comes to understand what is happening to him in the present. First, after his denial, Peter remembers Jesus' prediction that this would happen, and he then realizes what he has done (Lk. 22.61-62). Second, in Acts 11.16-18, Peter relates that upon remembering the words of the Lord, 'John baptized with water, you shall be baptized by the Holy Spirit', he understood that, since the Holy Spirit had also been poured out on the Gentiles (Lk. 10.44-48), he was not to hinder their baptism. In the same way, the Galilean women in Lk. 24.8 remember Jesus' words about his death and resurrection, and as a result they understand why the tomb, in which they had seen Jesus' body interred, is now empty.[44]

43. E.g. R.J. Dillon, *From Eye-Witnesses to Ministers of the Word: Tradition and Composition in Luke 24* (AnBib, 82; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978), pp. 18-56, who argues that the women's witness has the purpose 'of building a total experience *bereft of understanding and belief*, so that faith's inception should prove to be the independent gift of the risen Lord' (p. 56). The major scholarly objection to the interpretation that the women understand the remembered words is formulated by M.D. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm* (JSNTSup, 20; Worcester: Billing & Sons, 1989), p. 775 (italics mine): '*Being women* the receivers of this message do not presume to rise to faith before the apostles, but limit themselves to remembering his 'sayings' (a Lukanism), and scuttling off to the Eleven. For all his feeling for women, Luke comes from a world of male chauvinists'. In this case, clearly, some modern interpreters have not escaped such a world either.

44. See also P. Perkins, *Resurrection: New Testament Witness and Contemporary Reflection* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984), p. 155; Karris, 'Women and Discipleship', pp. 14-15. For additional arguments see Seim, *Double Message*, pp. 150-55, and also D.L. Bock, *Luke* (Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament, 3B; Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1996), II, pp. 1895-96.

### *No Encouragement to Proclaim*

Luke, in contrast to Mark and Matthew, fails to depict the women as commissioned to speak to the others. They receive no charge. Instead, the women go to the Eleven and all the others of their own accord and tell them everything. Luke does not record their exact words, but later the two disciples going to Emmaus repeat to Jesus what the women said. According to them, when the women did not find the body, they came to the others and announced that they had also seen a vision of angels who said that he was alive (Lk. 4.23). The word for 'vision' is ὀπτασία, which primarily and neutrally means 'appearing'. However, one may ask what Luke intends with this word. If it rather denotes 'vision',[45] could it signify that Luke wants to downplay what the women experienced as *only* a vision? This is not likely, since Luke uses the same word for Zechariah's encounter in the Jerusalem Temple (Lk. 1.22) and for Paul's experience on his way to Damascus (Acts 26.19), both events taken very seriously.

The equivalent words ὅρασις ('sight, appearance, vision') and ὅραμα ('what is to be seen, appearance, vision') as well as ὀπτασία itself, most frequently occur in Luke and Acts and very rarely in other New Testament writings.[46] In every instance, the experience causes the one who sees the vision to *do* something, even something quite overwhelming. No story about a vision in Luke or Acts thus has the connotation of 'only a vision'.[47] Zechariah has a vision in which he is told that his barren wife will bear a very special son and is instructed to call him John. When Zechariah asks for a sign, his speech is taken from him, since he did not believe. According to Stephen, Moses' experience with the bush is a 'vision' in which God summons Moses, at that time no more than a

45. See W. Michaelis, 'ὁράω', in *TDNT*, V, pp. 315-82 (p. 372). He states that the angelophany here cannot be called a 'vision', since the sense 'visionary appearance' would not have been 'firmly established'.

46. See Michaelis, 'ὁράω', pp. 370-73. The word occurs in Revelation (4.3; 9.17) and in Acts 2.17. The word ὅρασις occurs in Mt. 17.9 and in Acts 7.31; 9.10, 12; 10.3, 17, 19; 11.5; 12.9; 16.9, 10; 18.9. The word ὅραμα occurs in 2 Cor. 12.1 and in Lk. 1.22; 24.23; Acts 26.19. Here I use the English word 'vision' in the widest sense of the word.

47. There is one instance in Luke-Acts where the question 'reality or vision' is at stake. The author of Acts relates that when Peter followed the angel who freed him from prison, he did not know whether what was happening with the angel's help was real. Peter thought that he saw a vision (Acts 12.9). However, the reality of the appearance of the angel is not at stake here. Peter actually saw the angel, which is also the case in a vision, but he was uncertain about the reality of what was happening to him that moment.

shepherd, to free his people from mighty Pharaoh. He obeys (Acts 7.31). The Christian Ananias has a vision in which he is told to go to the persecutor, Paul. He obeys (Acts 9.10-16). Paul has visions in which he is told to convert to the Christian faith (Acts 26.19), to receive Ananias (Acts 9.12), and to keep preaching the gospel (18.9) even as far as Macedonia (16.9). He obeys. The Roman centurion has a vision in which he is told to listen to the unknown Jew, Peter (Acts 10.3). Peter has a vision in which he learns to deny his prioritizing of Levitical purity laws, to go to Cornelius, and to baptize Gentiles (Acts 16.9-10). Both Peter and Cornelius obey their visions.

In this light, the fact that the Galilean women at the empty tomb, in their vision, only receive the charge to *remember* and are not summoned to *do* anything, is even more striking.

Nevertheless, on their own initiative they go and tell the disciples. At this point in the story the name of Mary Magdalene occurs again, as one of three named women[48] among the unnamed (Lk. 24.10).[49] This seems odd, for in contrast to Mark and Matthew's accounts, here she is no longer special. Further, the role of the Galilean women is in and of itself not important to anyone other than to the women themselves. Luke relates that they are not believed and at the same time shows that they do not need to be believed, since what they have to relate is not unique. Others also found the tomb empty (Lk. 24.12, 24);[50] when Cleophas and his unnamed companion return from Emmaus, ready to share their experiences, they are told before they are allowed to speak: 'The Lord has risen indeed, and has appeared to Simon' (Lk. 24.34). Thus, in Luke's story, not only the women but also Peter and others witness the empty tomb and, according to the disciples, Simon is the first to whom the risen Lord appeared, although Luke does not describe the event.

Why did Luke not describe Jesus' appearance to Peter? Could it be that there was no such story available? Or is Luke engaging in irony by

48. However, compared to Lk. 8.1-3, the names are changed. Luke leaves Susanna out and adds Mary of James.

49. By a difference in punctuation this verse is interpreted in two ways in subsequent editions of Nestle-Aland's *Novum Testamentum Graece*. In the 25th edition, it is suggested that only the other women and not the three who are named relate everything to the apostles, in which case Luke silences them radically. In the 26th edition, it is suggested that also the named three and the other women convey the news to the apostles. The latter seems the more appropriate interpretation since it parallels the phrase 'the Eleven and the others' in 24.9.

50. Verse 24.12 has been interpreted as a later insertion, but scholarly opinion has changed on this point because of new text-critical evidence and the Lukan terms which are used; see Bock, *Luke*, II, p. 1902.

depicting Peter as being believed while the women are doubted although a clear story underlines their truthfulness? Luke differs significantly from Mark and Matthew and also from John. In Matthew's and John's resurrection accounts, Mary Magdalene is the first to see Jesus (cf. Mt. 28.1-9; Jn 20.11-17). In Mark, both Peter and Mary Magdalene as well as all the other disciples are promised that they will see him (Mk 16.7). Luke also differs significantly from the Markan appendix and the non-canonical *Epistula Apostolorum*, where, when the disciples do not believe the women, Jesus reproaches them.[51] Luke relates no rebuke from Jesus for disbelieving the women.

According to Luke, Mary Magdalene and the other women are on their own. They are not believed and need not be believed. Their testimony is not important in the flow of the story. They stand in sharp contrast to Peter, whose words immediately evoke sincere belief, since his testimony prompts all the others to exclaim: 'The Lord has risen indeed'! (Lk. 24.34).

Luke does portray Mary Magdalene and the other women as trustworthy and understanding witnesses.[52] They simply lack authority. Authority is not given to them by any of the male disciples, by Jesus himself, or by the angels. Although they keep repeating what has happened,[53] their words cause confusion rather than belief (Lk. 24.11, 22). As Seim states: 'Their own immediate attempt to break through the boundaries shows how stillborn this is. Men's lack of confidence in women makes it useless.'[54]

When the two disciples on the Emmaus road return, they are told that the Lord appeared to Simon. While they are together, the Lord appears to them all: to the Eleven and those who were with them. He opens their minds so that they can understand the Scriptures and says:

> Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer and on the third day rise from the dead, and that repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem. You are witnesses to these things. And behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you; but stay in the city, until you are clothed with power from on high (Lk. 24.46-49).

51. Mk 16.14; *Epist. Ap.* 20-22.

52. Seim, *Double Message*, pp. 156-57.

53. ἐλεγον: indicative durative (24.10).

54. Seim, *Double Message*, p. 163. Karris, 'Women and Discipleship', pp. 16-17, argues that Luke is equating the women's confession with the community's christological creed and with Jesus' self-revelation of his resurrection after an ignominious death' (p. 16), comparing 24.22-24 to 24.19-20 (see also Acts 2.22-24; 10.38-39) and 24.25-27.

In Matthew (28.19) the mission charge 'to all nations' is addressed to the Eleven; in Luke the statement 'you are witnesses to these things' is addressed to the Eleven 'and those who were with them' (24.33). On the basis of Lk. 8.1-3 we may assume that Mary Magdalene and the other women were also 'with them'. However, if we look at the direct context, Mary Magdalene, Joanna, and Mary mother of James together with some unnamed women seem to be one group distinct from the Eleven and all the others (24.9). Nevertheless, the ones who went to Emmaus called them: 'certain women also of our company' (24.22). It is thus logical to assume that the women are with the Eleven, since Jesus calls them 'witnesses to these things' (24.48). Indeed they have witnessed all his activities and teaching throughout the gospel.[55] After promising them the power from on high, Jesus leads them out as far as Bethany, blesses them, and is carried up into heaven.

### *The Difference between Luke and Acts*

When Luke's story resumes in Acts 1.1-11, only the apostles are present.[56] Yet women appear to be with them in Jerusalem and to receive the Holy Spirit as they do (Acts 1.14; 2.1, 17). Are they to witness as the apostles do (Acts 1.8)? In Acts 13.31 Paul assures his hearers that the risen Lord appeared for many days to 'those who came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem and who are now his witnesses to the people'. Would they not include the women from Galilee?[57]

It is very strange that these women in Acts 1.14 should be unidentified and that Mary the mother of Jesus and his brothers are mentioned, although they play no discipleship role in the gospel. One would have expected at least the name of Mary Magdalene to occur again, but this is not the case. Throughout Acts she is not mentioned; also absent is the name of any other woman mentioned in the gospel. They play no role in Luke's story about the beginnings of the church.

This can mean one of two things: either the author of the gospel is not the same as the author of Acts,[58] or Luke in his second book deliberately

55. Perkins, *Resurrection*, p. 167; Karris, 'Women and Discipleship', pp. 13-19; Melzer-Keller, *Jesus und die Frauen*, pp. 271-73, indeed argues that the women as part of the group receive the mission charge and witness the ascension.

56. See also Melzer-Keller, *Jesus und die Frauen*, pp. 273-75.

57. See R. Ryan, 'The Women from Galilee and Discipleship in Luke', *BTB* 15 (1985), pp. 56-59 (esp. p. 58); Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (London: SCM Press, 1983), p. 321; Melzer-Keller, *Jesus und die Frauen*, pp. 272-73.

58. For the theory of various sources, see M. Boismard and A. Lamouille, *Les Actes*

remains silent about Mary Magdalene and the others. It appears that Luke seeks to limit the role of the Galilean women to Jesus' lifetime. They are history. The church can do without them, since the church relies on the male Twelve and on the males who receive their blessing. Nevertheless Seim observes:

> The masculinization which dominates Acts, however, does not cover the whole of Luke's story cloaking women in silence and invisibility... By means of the narrative sequence and of the positioning of the gospel as a 'first volume', the traditions from Jesus' life, that is the life and voice of Jesus, lack the strong historical transparency of Mark and Matthew. They are located in the past and given the character of remembrance. The same is true of the examples of women and the stories about them. But this does not bring them to silence... On the contrary, Luke's own employment of the motive of 'memory' shows that it is precisely in the remembrance of this past story that the key to critical insight and to a new evaluation and a new understanding is to be found.[59]

### *Luke's Portrayal of Mary Magdalene and the Other Women Followers*

To Luke, Mary Magdalene is one of the Galilean women who are disciples of the Lord (Lk. 24.6-7, cf. 9.18-22). As disciples they know and remember Jesus' words, even those words about the suffering and resurrection of the Son of Man which he only told in private. They follow Jesus as disciples from the very start (Lk. 8.1-3). Like the Twelve, Mary Magdalene, Joanna, and Susanna are with Jesus and are provided for by many unnamed women disciples. However, although the specific roles of the Twelve and the unnamed women disciples become clear (the Twelve are apostles and the unnamed women use their resources for the benefit of all), nothing is said about the role of Mary Magdalene, Joanna, and Susanna. Luke emphasizes instead their specific status as healed ones and explicitly mentions Mary Magdalene's seven demons.

The reader is encouraged to visualize Mary Magdalene everywhere Jesus goes, together with the Twelve, Joanna, Susanna, and many other women. They all, women and men, travel with him and learn from him

*des deux Apôtres*. I. *Textes* (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1990). They do, however, defend the original unity of a proto-Luke and what they call 'Act I', which already concentrated on Peter and Paul. According to their source theory, Act I uses Peter to show that Jesus is the messianic king who, like a new Elijah, has ascended to heaven from where he will come again. Act I uses Paul to show that, although this message was taken from synagogue to synagogue, it was refused. Act I warns against a possible ruin of Jerusalem as a consequence of this blindness (Boismard and Lamouille, *Les Actes des deux Apôtres*, pp. 26-30).

59. Seim, *Double Message*, pp. 259-60.

in Galilee (Lk. 4.14–9.50) and on his way to Jerusalem (Lk. 9.51–19.27), and they stay with him until the crucifixion. This is a major difference from the other Synoptics. In Luke's gospel, the disciples do not flee at the arrest of Jesus, as they do in Mark and Matthew's accounts. Not only the women followers watch the crucifixion, but all who knew Jesus.

Compared to Mark and Matthew's accounts, the Third Gospel de-emphasizes the role of Mary Magdalene and the other women followers in favor of Peter and other male followers. Not only the women, but Peter and others as well are witnesses to the empty tomb. Hearing Peter's words that he saw the Lord, the disciples all cry out, 'The Lord has risen indeed'. Mary Magdalene and the other women are not believed at all. Whereas the Galilean women exemplify Lukan discipleship—providing for Jesus, the Twelve, and Joanna, Susanna, and Mary Magdalene out of their own means—Mary Magdalene's special function in Luke's story is to show that the women's testimony of all they witnessed is neither requested nor needed.

Luke's story of the emerging church in Acts omits the contribution of the Galilean women. This does not mean, however, that the Galilean women and others did not play their part. It means that Luke does not focus on the emerging church as a whole, but mainly on the contribution to it by two apostles, Peter and Paul. Very rightly, the publishers of the recent commentary on Acts in the series *Etudes Bibliques* did not choose the canonical[60] title *The Acts of the Apostles* for their book. Instead, they decided for the more accurate *The Acts of the Two Apostles*.[61]

Whereas Luke, not only in his gospel but also in Acts, downplays Mary Magdalene in favor of Peter and others, readers of his gospel are nevertheless encouraged to value her, as well as the other Galilean women, as trustworthy and capable witnesses to Jesus: to his healing and teaching, to his death, burial, resurrection, and ascension. When

60. As Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 301-304, shows, in antiquity titles were commonly added later. As early as the end of the second century the Canon Muratori asserts that by Luke 'the acts of all the apostles were written in one book'. At the same time, however, the author concludes that Luke only 'compiled the individual events that took place in his presence', since he apparently skipped Peter's martyrdom and Paul's journey to Spain (Canon Muratori 34-39). Metzger, *Canon of the New Testament*, p. 196, suggests that the statement of the Muratorian author about 'all the apostles' while mentioning only Peter and Paul 'may be directed against Marcion, who identified Paul as *the* apostle. Or may be directed against the growing number of apocryphal books of acts of apostles.'

61. Boismard and Lamouille, *Les Actes des deux Apôtres*.

Jesus opened the minds of his apostles and disciples to enable them understand the Scriptures, he opened their minds too.

Luke suggests that Mary Magdalene and the other Galilean women as disciples of the Lord must have played their part in the rise of the church. However, Luke does not record their contribution. According to Luke, the women disciples are first and foremost to use their goods for the benefit of all and to remember Jesus' words. In his view, despite the women's trustworthiness as witnesses, they lack the authority to preach the gospel; they cause only confusion.

# WOMEN AND DISCIPLESHIP IN LUKE 10.38-42 AND ACTS 6.1-7: THE LITERARY CONTEXT OF LUKE–ACTS*

Veronica Koperski

The compositional parallels between Lk. 10.38-42 and Acts 6.1-7 have long been noted.[1] It has been suggested that in order to listen to the word (λόγος) of the Lord, Mary leaves (καταλείπω) the serving (διακονέω) to Martha, who complains. Similarly, the apostles assert that they should not have to leave (καταλείπω) the word (λόγος) of God in order to serve (διακονέω) at tables. What is different in a number of more contemporary studies that deal with either or both of these passages is the emphasis placed on the Lukan composition or redaction of the texts insofar as it reflects issues relating to the ministry of women contemporaneous with the writing of Luke–Acts.[2]

My particular interest in the Martha and Mary passage stems from a presentation on women in the Gospel of Luke that I was requested to make for a group of adult laity in the Education for Parish Service (EPS) program in 1995. This program, with centers in various cities in the USA

* This article is a revised and expanded version of an article originally published in J. Verheyden (ed.), *The Unity of Luke–Acts* (BETL, 142; Leuven: Peeters, 1999), pp. 517-44, based on a paper delivered at the Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Leuven, Belgium, July 1998. Reprinted by permission.

1. See, e.g., Bo Reicke, 'Instruction and Discussion in the Travel Narrative', in Kurt Aland, F.L. Cross, Jean Daniélou, Harald Riesenfeld, and W.C. Van Unnick (eds.), *Studia Evangelica: Papers Presented to the International Congress on The Four Gospels in 1957 at Christ Church, Oxford, 1957* (TU, 73; Berlin: Akademie Verlag 1959), pp. 206-16, esp. pp. 212-13; Erling Laland, 'Die Martha–Maria Perikope Lukas 10, 38-42', *ST* 13 (1959), pp. 70-85; Birger Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript: Oral Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity* (trans. E.J. Sharpe; ASNU, 22; Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells, 1961), pp. 239-42.

2. Not all recent authors who connect these passages are concerned to discuss feminist issues. For example, Jerome H. Neyrey, *The Social World of Luke–Acts: Models for Interpretation* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), p. 379, asserts that both passages illustrate the perception that serving at table is a subordinate ministry, but that in the Lukan story meals are used as occasions to reverse roles and statuses. However, he gives no indication that Martha's 'lower' status is reversed.

as well as one in Rome, was founded in 1978 by Sister Joan Bland, SSND, now in her eighties and still active, in order to train adult laity for leadership in Roman Catholic parishes. The group consisted for the most part of retired people, well-educated in fields other than theology and biblical exegesis. At the time Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza's *But She Said*[3] was recently published, and I included her interpretation among others. Never having had a strong emotional response to the passage myself, I was somewhat taken aback by the intensity of reaction from women and men who told me how angry their mothers had always been when this passage was the subject of preaching. I have gradually become more aware that as a celibate religious (though not in a strictly contemplative community) I had tended to identify with Mary. However, many, perhaps the majority, of Christian women (at least those of my generation and older) strongly identify with Martha and resent what is perceived as the unfairness to her portrayed in this passage in liturgical preaching. Both Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza and Robert M. Price[4] criticize Protestant (often devotional) interpretations that disdain the practice of celibacy and encourage women to practice the housewifely virtues of Martha combined with the religious attitude of Mary:

> Protestant interpreters...insist that women must fulfill their duties as housekeepers. Nevertheless, they must not overdo it. In other words, they should be accomplished hostesses of dinner parties and church suppers, but they should take some time out to 'listen, to pray and to learn'.[5]

Until fairly recently, a comment frequently made about Luke–Acts, and in particular the gospel, was that it is highly favorable in its depiction of women.[6] At least one scholar has even gone so far as to suggest not only that the gospel author's choice to include so much 'pro-woman' material indicates a sympathetic attitude toward women, but also that proto-Luke most likely was compiled by a woman.[7] The questioning of this widely accepted view has been stimulated by some contributions of feminist

3. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *But She Said: Feminist Practices of Biblical Interpretation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992).

4. Fiorenza, *But She Said*, pp. 58-59; Robert M. Price, *The Widow Traditions in Luke–Acts: A Feminist-Critical Survey* (SBLDS, 155; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), p. 178.

5. Fiorenza, *But She Said*, p. 58.

6. E.g., A. Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke* (ICC, 28; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1969), p. 528, who refers to the Third Gospel as the 'Gospel of Womanhood'; for others, see Robert J. Karris, 'Women and Discipleship in Luke', *CBQ* 56 (1994), pp. 1-20 (p. 2 n. 47), and Price, *Widow Traditions*, pp. xvii-xviii nn. 30-35.

7. Leonard Swidler, *Biblical Affirmations of Woman* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1979), p. 281.

biblical research; one of the most compelling arguments against the naive assumption of such a perspective in terms of an overall approach to Luke–Acts is that of Stevan Davies in a chapter within a collection of writings on Jewish women in the Greco-Roman world that describes his initial acceptance of the common view and the reasons that convinced him to abandon it.[8] The articles in this volume reflect a more specific outlook of concern on the part of Jewish and Christian women and men scholars that the portrayal of Jesus as a liberator of women within the New Testament[9] should not depict Jewish women of the first century CE as being universally dominated by autocratic males, particularly when the New Testament texts themselves provide no support for such a view. In the case of Lk. 10.38-42, Davies opposes any interpretation that views the pericope as depicting a liberation of women from the role of men's domestic servers to that of diligent listeners. He notes all the presuppositions that such a claim involves:

> one must generalize from a single case to a class and from a single instance to a theme. One must dismiss from serious consideration the fact that it is another woman who objects to Mary's listening role; one must overlook the fact that listening to a man is far from an unusual or liberated role for a woman; and one must regard as irrelevant the fact that in each of the gospels Jesus speaks publicly to crowds of male *and female* listeners. Moreover, one needs to determine whether Luke's Jesus is approving 'listening' or, specifically 'women listening'... Some have argued that for Jesus, a Rabbi, to have taught women would be an exception to traditional and so expected practice. This argument ...would hold only if it were also true that Luke portrays Jesus primarily as a Rabbi or, in less technical terms, as a teacher and sage. This is not the case. The evangelist depicts Jesus as a wonder-worker (Acts 2.22; 10.38) and a spirit-inspired prophet (Lk. 4.14-22). Unless it can be shown that such charismatic individuals normally refused to instruct women, then the portrait drawn in the corpus simply reflects reality as Luke knew it.[10]

8. Stevan Davies, 'Women in the Third Gospel and the New Testament Apocrypha', in Amy-Jill Levine (ed.), *'Women Like This': New Perspectives on Jewish Women in the Greco-Roman World* (SBL Early Judaism and its Literature, 1; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), pp. 185-97.

9. While I am aware of current efforts to replace the terms 'New Testament' and 'Old Testament' with other expressions allegedly more positive toward Judaism, I continue to use these terms for two reasons: (1) Suggested alternatives are not wholly satisfactory. To speak of 'Jewish Scripture' and 'Christian Scripture' does not make clear that the second includes the first. 'First Testament' and 'Second Testament' seem to imply that there could be a third, or more. (2) 'New' does not need to imply that 'Old' is worthless. I happen to value old things and elderly people very highly. However, I am open to further suggestion.

10. Davies, 'Women in the Third Gospel', p. 186. Similarly, Fiorenza, *But She Said*,

Current interpretations resulting from the feminist discussion of Lk. 10.38-42 and Acts 6.1-7 basically can be divided into three categories: (1) those that understand the passage and the author of Luke–Acts as in some regard favorable to the ministry of women (feminist apologetic); (2) those that employ a hermeneutics of suspicion in regard to the author's view of that ministry (feminist critical); and (3) those that react to the second approach, either positively, but with qualifications, or more negatively. An issue that is explored by several authors in the latter two categories is whether it is possible to actualize the passages in a hopeful manner for women today even if it is determined that the author's view of the ministry of women was less emancipatory than some interpretations of these texts might suggest. Following a presentation of selective representatives of these three positions, some critical comments will be offered.

### *Feminist Apologetic Perspectives*

The terms 'feminist apologetic' (in the sense of 'uncritical') and 'feminist critical' have been previously utilized by Fiorenza;[11] however I am employing 'Feminist Apologetic' in a broader sense to include readings that find some value in the text, though they may also critique it to some degree.[12] Some of the authors in this first category are critical of at least some aspects of the text, and they adduce substantial evidence to support their more positive assertions. A number of studies on early Christian asceticism have demonstrated that consecrated celibacy afforded women an opportunity for the necessary leisure for scholastic study by freeing them from domestic drudgery and subservience to a husband.[13]

p. 59. Examples of instances in which Jewish tradition upheld the right of women to study Torah are found in Barbara E. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part? Women in the Gospel of Luke* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1996), pp. 150-53. Price, *Widow Traditions*, pp. 179-80, comments in a similar vein, illustrating the way a remark of Rabbi Eliezer ('If any man gives his daughter a knowledge of the Torah, it is as though he taught her lechery') has for the most part been cited with no reference to its context, which offers an entirely different perspective. In fact Eliezer is arguing against a superstitious use of Torah in a test of a daughter's chastity.

11. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, 'Theological Criteria and Historical Reconstruction: Martha and Mary (Lk. 10.38-42)', in Herman Waetjen (ed.), *Protocol of the 53d Colloquy: April 10, 1986* (Berkeley: Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture, 1987), pp. 1-12 (p. 6); *But She Said*, p. 56.

12. Price, in *Widow Traditions*, p. 179 n. 10, also notes the difficulty of fitting some authors into one of the two categories in the sense Fiorenza employs them in his.

13. Price, *Widow Traditions*, pp. 180-81. For an extended treatment of the later

Jo Ann McNamara regards Lk. 10.38-42 as making precisely this point: 'Mary had once chosen the better part in preferring spiritual instruction to domestic duties'.[14] Origen's application of the choice of Mary as reflecting that of contemplative life over active is positively endorsed more recently by Price.[15]

Earlier twentieth-century commentators who interpreted the Lukan passage in this vein, including T.W. Manson and J.M. Creed, had remarked on the similarity between Lk. 10.38-42 and 1 Cor. 7.32-35.[16] David Wenham seems to view the connection from a somewhat different perspective. While most earlier commentators assume that the author of the Third Gospel was influenced by the passage from 1 Corinthians, Wenham proposes that 1 Cor. 7.32-35 reflects the fact that Corinthian women cited the story of Martha and Mary in Lk. 10.38-42.[17] He points out that the Greek verb μεριμνάω, present in the Lukan text, occurs four times within 1 Cor. 7.32-34, in addition to one use of the cognate adjective, while μεριμνάω is employed only twice elsewhere in Paul's letters. Wenham remarks that the etymology of Paul's εὐπάρεδρος is 'sitting well beside' and could recall the story of Mary sitting at the Lord's feet. Further, he notes, the use of ἀπερίσπαστος in 1 Cor. 7, as well as that of περισπάομαι in Lk. 10, is *hapax legomenon* in the New Testament.[18] Wenham finds it 'tempting' to surmise that the Corinthian

(500–1500 CE) development of this same idea, see Lina Eckenstein, *Woman under Monasticism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1896).

14. Jo Ann McNamara, *A New Song: Celibate Women in the First Three Christian Centuries* (New York: Institute for Research in History; Haworth Press, 1983), p. 104.

15. Price, *Widow Traditions*, p. 178.

16. T.W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus* (London: SCM Press, 1954), p. 263; J.M. Creed, *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (London: Macmillan, 1930), p. 154; more recently, in the same vein, M.D. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm* (2 vols; JSNTSup, 20; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), pp. 493-94, even suggests that Luke utilized the written text of 1 Cor. 7 in composing his pericope; see pp. 129-46 for a discussion of Luke's familiarity with 1 Cor.

17. David Wenham, *Paul: Follower of Jesus or Founder of Christianity?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Cambridge: University Press, 1995), pp. 248-50. Wenham does not make clear whether he believes that the Gospel of Luke was written before 1 Cor., though his discussion appears to assume that a written (or oral?) version of the story, with characteristic vocabulary, was known to Paul and the Corinthian women.

18. Turid Karlsen Seim, *The Double Message: Patterns of Gender in Luke and Acts* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994), p. 105 n. 22, however, notes some striking differences between the two texts. For a summary of the discussion on the relation between the two passages, see Jutta Brutscheck, *Die Maria–Martha-Erzählung: Eine redaktionkritische Untersuchung zu Lk. 10, 38-42* (BBB, 64; Frankfurt: Peter Hanstein, 1986), p. 251 n. 64, who accepts a link with some qualifications.

women had employed this story to argue that the Lord recommended renunciation of Martha-like domestic 'worry' in favor of Mary-like undistracted devotion to the Lord. According to Wenham, while Paul agrees that the latter is desirable, he does not therefore also conclude that celibacy is the way to achieve such devotion in every instance. However Barbara E. Reid asserts that Paul's use of μεριμνάω terminology conveys a totally opposite sense than the rebuke of Martha's anxiety present in the Lukan text, since 'Paul speaks approvingly of an unmarried woman or virgin who is "anxious about the things of the Lord"'.[19]

In accepting the view that, at least at one stage, the Martha and Mary story now found in Lk. 10.38-42 functioned as 'conversion propaganda', inviting women to be more like the contemplative Mary, Price is careful to distinguish his position from a type of feminist apologetic view that expresses an uncritically positive appreciation of Jesus' treatment toward women at the expense of Jesus' Israelite heritage. He cites Irene Brennan, Robin Scroggs, Constance F. Parvey, David C. Sim, Wayne Vohn Whitney, Richard J. Cassidy, and Frederick W. Danker as examples of this type of approach.[20] Typical of such readings is that of Albertus Magnus McGrath, who sees Jesus attempting to lift the heavy burden from Martha, and thus chiding not her but the system that burdened her, while praising Mary 'for doing that which the religion of Israel did not encourage, and which St. Paul was expressly to forbid (1 Cor. 14.34-35): she directly approached Christ, the source of spiritual knowledge and power without the mediation of any man'.[21]

A somewhat more critical variation on this type of interpretation is provided by Elizabeth M. Tetlow, who refers to the 'domestic' story of Martha and Mary in Lk. 10, noting that the entire chapter is concerned with the theme of discipleship, that Luke does not say that the two sisters are not disciples. While she still sees Martha's role as that of 'serving the men', she contends that Luke was portraying such a role as subordinate to Mary's role of listening, and was going beyond contemporaneous rabbinic Judaism in allowing a woman to learn Torah. Nonetheless, Tetlow notes, Luke does not permit either woman a role of proclamation, and, she suggests:

> It is possible that Martha represents the women ministers who were active in Luke's own church. Thus in his composition of this scene the evangelist

19. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part?*, p. 147 (see n. 10 above).

20. Price, *Widow Traditions*, p. 179 n. 10.

21. Albertus Magnus McGrath, *What a Modern Catholic Believes About Women* (Chicago: Thomas More, 1972), pp. 20-21. McGrath displays no awareness of the disputed authenticity of 1 Cor. 14.34-35.

was attempting to limit and subordinate the ministerial role of such women by appealing to the example of Jesus.[22]

Gail Paterson Corrington is similarly critical of the author of the Third Gospel, maintaining that the pericope is oppressive to women because the equality of discipleship achieved by Mary comes at the cost of renunciation of female sexuality, as indicated in the *Gospel of Thomas*.[23] Price disagrees with the opinion that the renunciation of female sexuality can be automatically assumed, citing Joyce E. Salisbury's study of celibate women who by their own accounts indicate that they embraced their sexuality and physicality.[24]

### *A Feminist-Critical Perspective*

While Tetlow and Corrington in the previous category are critical of what they perceive as Luke's subordination of Martha's ministry, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza goes further in her criticism. She does not view the role of Mary as a positive depiction, and she takes issue with any view that would play off Christianity against Judaism. Fiorenza has reflected on Lk. 10.38-42 and Acts 6.1-7 in a number of writings and oral presentations. In her 1984 work *In Memory of Her*, she notes that though no women are included within the seven Hellenists appointed to table διακονία in Acts, they are involved in the original conflict depicted in Acts that led to the division of ministry into that of apostles and that of the seven (not actually referred to as διακονία). Fiorenza maintains that the author of Luke–Acts had theological-historical motivation for playing down a serious conflict between the Jerusalem apostles and the Hellenists, an attempt that is not wholly successful, since, though Luke–Acts portrays the Hellenists as subordinate to the Jerusalem apostles, to whom the ministry of the word is theoretically reserved, the Hellenists, beginning with Stephen, emerge as powerful preachers and founders of communities. The subordination of one group to the other, Fiorenza asserts, clearly reflects Luke's own situation, while the division of the one διακονία into a ministry at table and a ministry of the word most likely is indicative of a practice of the Christian missionary movement.

22. Elizabeth M. Tetlow, *Women and Ministry in the New Testament: Called to Serve* (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), p. 104.

23. Gail Paterson Corrington, *Her Image of Salvation: Female Saviors and Formative Christianity* (Gender and the Biblical Tradition; Atlanta: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), p. 89; see also pp. 32-33.

24. Price, *Widow Traditions*, p. 181, citing Joyce E. Salisbury, *Church Fathers, Independent Virgins* (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 111-25.

Fiorenza sees the Martha and Mary pericope in Lk. 10 as likewise expressing Luke's interest in subordinating one ministry to another. In this writing she does not go into detail regarding the precise nature of Martha's ministry.

In regard to the widows of Acts 6, Fiorenza takes issue with earlier interpretations that understand the situation to be that the 'Hebrews' had neglected the impoverished widows of the Hellenists in the daily distribution of food and material goods to the needy. She points out that Acts 6 says nothing to indicate these widows were poor, and the expression 'serving at table' has the meaning of table service at a meal, not administration of funds. Citing 1 Cor. 10.21, which refers to the table of the Lord, she suggests that table ministry was most likely eucharistic ministry and that it included, in addition to preparation and serving of the meal, purchase and distribution of food and most likely also cleaning up afterwards. According to Acts 2.46, such sharing occurred 'day by day'. However the context of Acts 2.45, as well as Acts 4.32-37, which refers to distribution of goods, does not employ the terminology 'serving at table'. Thus it is possible, following a proposal of Hermann W. Beyer, that the conflict depicted in Acts 6 had to do with the role and even the participation of women at the eucharistic meal.[25] According to Fiorenza, Hellenists in both Jerusalem and Antioch most likely took such participation for granted, while 'Hebrews' might have had difficulty with the practice.[26] (Presumably Hellenists were more liberal.)

In 1986, Fiorenza dealt with the gospel passage in two versions of an article that were later to be included, in expanded and revised form, in *But She Said*. Fiorenza concentrates on the nature of the relationship between Jesus and each sister, asserting that while the relationship between Martha and Jesus (host and guest) was one of independent equals, Luke has rejected this equality in favor of a relationship of the kind Jesus has with Mary, who has elected the position of a subordinate student. The Mary–Jesus relationship manifests Luke's idea of what the role of women ought to be, rather than reflects women's actual place at the time of Jesus. For Luke, according to Fiorenza, Martha is actively occupied in preaching the word in the house church, while Mary listens passively. Luke criticizes the active role and attempts to urge the passive model on his readers, some of whom were probably engaged in roles

25. Hermann W. Beyer, 'διακονέω, διακονία, διάκονος', *TDNT*, II, pp. 81-93 (p. 85). Beyer maintains that there is even a question as to whether these women should have been regarded as part of the community.

26. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1984), pp. 164-66.

similar to that of Martha.[27] It might be questioned whether the text requires that Mary's role be understood as totally passive, since the Israelite tradition understood listening in a more active sense (see, e.g., 1 Sam. 4.9-10); one is to hear and obey the word of the Lord. Nonetheless, it is true that Luke does not demonstrate that Mary *does* anything as a result of her listening.

Fiorenza devotes a chapter of *But She Said* (1992) to a detailed discussion of Lk. 10.38-42 as an illustration of the practice of interpretation she had proposed in an earlier work, *Bread Not Stone*. To this end she employs four interpretive strategies: a hermeneutics of suspicion, which questions not only biblical passages and their interpretations but also imaginative feminist readings; a hermeneutics of remembrance, which attempts to recover all possible remnants of material and textual information in order to construct a more plausible historical picture; a hermeneutics of proclamation, which refuses to appropriate or affirm texts that reinforce patriarchal relations of control and exploitation; and a hermeneutics of liberative vision and imagination, which seeks to actualize and enhance the textual remnants of liberating visions.[28]

*A Hermeneutics of Suspicion*

Fiorenza begins by referring to the textual variants in Lk. 10.38-42, which basically suggest two different readings. The longer, '...few things are needful, or one', presupposes a meal setting in which Mary has the main course already and thus 'a couple of olives, or even one, will suffice at present'. The shorter reading, accepted by most modern commentators, is 'one thing is needful'. Fiorenza suggests that the one thing probably refers to the activities of the two protagonists: 'The climactic word of Jesus then asserts that Mary has chosen the one thing, the good part.' She notes that the text does not explicitly refer to a meal or serving at table, and that the reproach of Jesus to Martha does not employ the terms διακονία or διακονέω, but rather chides Martha for being anxious and troubled, similar to the reproach in Lk. 12.22, 26.[29]

27. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, 'A Feminist Critical Interpretation for Liberation: Martha and Mary (Lk. 10.38-42)', *Religion and Intellectual Life* 3 (1986), pp. 21-36, and *eadem*, 'Theological Criteria and Historical Reconstruction'. The material in these two publications and in *In Memory of Her* is combined in 'Biblische Grundlegung', in M. Kassel (ed.), *Feministische Theologie: Perspektiven zur Orientierung* (Stuttgart: Kreuz, 1988), pp. 13-44.

28. Fiorenza, *But She Said*, pp. 54-76.

29. Fiorenza, *But She Said*, p. 57. The discussion here is rather succinct. The meaning of the remark, 'Mary has the main course already', is not clear. Would it mean that Mary has prepared the main course already?

Before continuing with her own analysis of the text, Fiorenza reviews and critiques a number of other approaches, which she categorizes in two major types: (1) an abstractionist reading, which reduces the sisters to theological principles and types: 'justification by works and justification by faith, alms-giving and prayer, Judaism and Christianity, synagogue and church, people who are preoccupied with worldly cares and those who listen to God's word and seek spiritual things'; and (2) a 'good woman/bad woman' polarization: active and contemplative, laywomen or 'nunwomen', secular or religious, serving husbands or serving the Lord.[30] Within this duality she criticizes Protestant interpretations that want to validate Martha's role as a housekeeper, apologetic feminist interpretations that highlight the role of Christian women as disciples at the expense of Jewish women, and psychological and/or eroticizing readings that perpetuate the stereotype of women as rivals, rely on a negative contrast with Jewish society, and overlook the view of historical-critical exegesis that Scripture texts are not concerned with the psychological attitudes and emotions of their protagonists.[31]

Since most interpretations of Lk. 10.38-42 emphasize a dualistic antagonism either between Martha and Mary or the principles or lifestyles that they symbolize, Fiorenza raises the question of whether this dualistic opposition is present in the text. She decides that it is, for the following reasons: (1) It is absent from the other two passages in which these two women are present: Jn 11.1-44; 12.1-11. (2) Form-critical analysis identifies the passage as a biographical apophthegm,[32] which typically employs antagonistic characterization to make a point and to advocate behavioral norms, here two competing models of discipleship: διακονία-service vs listening to the word. (3) Linguistic structural analysis[33] identifies a series of oppositions: student–householder, listening–speaking, rest–movement, receptiveness–argument, openness–purposefulness, passivity–agency,

30. Fiorenza, *But She Said*, p. 58.

31. Fiorenza, *But She Said*, pp. 58-60.

32. Following Rudolf Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition* (New York: Harper, 1968), p. 33. However, even early form critics disagreed on this classification. Martin Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel* (trans. B.L. Woolf; London: Ivor Nicholson & Watson, 1934), pp. 119 and 293, describes the passage as a legend with historical basis. Vincent Taylor, *Formation of the Gospel Tradition* (London: Macmillan, 1957), p. 75, referred to it as a story about Jesus. John Nolland, *The Gospel According to Luke: Luke 1–9.20* (WBC, 35A; Dallas: Word Books, 1989), p. 601, points out problems with each of these classifications and refers to more recent studies by Robert C. Tannehill, 'The Pronouncement Story and Its Types', *Semeia* 20 (1981), pp. 1-14, and 'Varieties of Synoptic Pronouncement Stories', *Semeia* 20 (1981), pp. 101-19, and Brutscheck, *Die Maria–Martha–Erzählung*.

33. Here Fiorenza follows Brutscheck, *Die Maria-Martha-Erzählung*, pp. 30-49.

better choice–rejection. (4) Narrative analysis: Martha and the Lord are equals at the beginning, while Mary has a subordinate relationship to the Lord. Martha is absorbed with the preoccupations of serving, while Mary's attention is focused on the Lord. Martha's speech, which attempts to change the situation, has both a present aspect (question with two accusations) and a future aspect (imperative sentence with two demands). By appealing to Jesus, Martha relinquishes the egalitarian relationship of hostess and guest for a dependency relationship, and finds her appeal rejected by the Lord. Thus the Lord, characterized in masculine terms, is the center of the action. Mary is silent and Martha is silenced. Mary listens, but does not proclaim. The text does not describe an actual situation. 'Rather, the narrative is *prescriptive*, pitting sister against sister in order to make a point. But what is the point that Luke wanted to make in his own social-ecclesial situation?'[34] This is further explored in the following section.

*A Hermeneutics of Remembrance*

Fiorenza maintains that Lk. 10.38-42 addresses a situation of the early church, not the lifetime of the historical Jesus, as evidenced by use of the title κυριος, which appeals to the authority of the resurrected Lord. Fiorenza agrees with exegetes who have pointed out that the historical situation of the early Christian missionary movement assembled in house churches, but disagrees with a type of reading which thus contextualizes the narrative in terms of Gerd Theissen's claim that the Jesus movement was comprised of itinerant (male) missionaries and local households who supported them materially. In such a scenario, Martha is too anxious about hosting itinerant Christian preachers. Fiorenza rejects such representations because she feels they reinforce the androcentrism already present in the text.[35]

In attempting to recover the memory behind the text, Fiorenza makes the following assertions: (1) The text refers to serving, but says nothing of a kitchen or a meal. (2) In Luke's time, διακονία and διακονέω had become technical terms for ecclesial leadership. (3) Both house churches and itinerant missionaries were central to the early Christian missionary movement, and, according to the Pauline writings, both women and men were leaders in house churches as well as missionary endeavors. (4) Διακονία was used in early Christian times to refer to eucharistic table service in the house church,[36] but it also included proclamation of

34. Fiorenza, *But She Said*, pp. 60-62 (p. 62).
35. Fiorenza, *But She Said*, pp. 63-64.
36. Fiorenza does not cite support for this assertion here but in an earlier writing

the word, which is evident in Acts 6–8, where the seven are ostensibly appointed to the διακονία of the tables but nevertheless are depicted as powerful preachers and founders of communities. (5) Unlike in Acts 6.1-7, where the διακονία of table service is subordinated to *preaching*, in the gospel narrative Martha's service is subordinated to *listening* to the word. This reflects the narrator's interest in downplaying the leadership of women. While reflecting that both males and females are members of Jesus' community of disciples, Luke–Acts, despite its numerous male–female parallels, does not pair even one story of a leading male disciple with that of a corresponding female disciple. There is not one account in Acts of a woman preaching, leading a congregation, or presiding over a house church. Thus, Fiorenza maintains:

> while the Pastorals silence our speech, Acts deforms our historical consciousness... Luke plays down the ministry of those women leaders of the early church whom he has to mention because they were known to his audience. Martha and Mary are a case in point.[37]

This is further substantiated by a review of the placement of the pericope within the context of the Lukan travel narrative, following Jutta Brutscheck,[38] and by a comparison of the treatment of Martha and Mary in the Fourth Gospel, where the two sisters are not seen in competition with each other and both have important roles.[39]

*A Hermeneutics of Evaluation and Proclamation*

Here Fiorenza explores the implications of her findings for preaching, counseling, individual Bible study, and contemporary feminist readings. She has two major points. First, a hermeneutics of proclamation must critically evaluate the values promulgated by the text, rather than reinforce its dualistic, oppositional dynamics. This is not to say that Lk. 10.38-42 should not be employed in preaching and teaching, but it must be done in such a way as to celebrate the female protagonists as historical and independent apostolic figures in their own right.[40]

she appears to be relying on Beyer (see n. 26 above). Fiorenza's assertions regarding διακονία and διακονέω have recently been severely criticized by John N. Collins, 'Did Luke Intend a Disservice to Women in the Martha and Mary Story?', *BTB* 28 (1998), pp. 104-11.

37. Fiorenza, *But She Said*, pp. 64-66 (p. 66). At p. 233 n. 36, Fiorenza identifies H.-J. Venetz, 'Die Suche nach dem "einem Notwendigen"', *Orientierung* 54 (1990), pp. 185-89, as strongly disagreeing with the position she expresses here.

38. Brutscheck, *Die Maria–Martha-Erzählung*, pp. 50-64 (see n. 19 above).

39. Fiorenza, *But She Said*, pp. 67-68.

40. Fiorenza, *But She Said*, pp. 68-69.

Second, Fiorenza maintains, it is necessary to evaluate the sociopolitical contextualizations that determine how the text is heard today.Here she outlines four possibilities: (1) Instead of stressing Mary's behavior as proper feminine conduct for elite educated women, one might contextualize the narrative in the life of lower and working class women, where 'Mary's audacity in taking time out from work to sit idle and relax in good company can have a liberating effect'.[41] (2) Interpretations that depict Martha in terms of sacrificing service run the danger of reinforcing the androcentric tendencies in the text and should be avoided. (3) Theological revalorizations of servanthood which emphasize that it is freely chosen do not take into account that people who are powerless, who are socialized into subservience, are not capable of 'freely' choosing servanthood. Biblical concepts of δύναμις ('power, might, strength'), ἐξουσίαν ('ability, authority, power'), and σωτήρ ('deliverer, savior') need to be explored. (4) Theological speech about ministry as 'power for' rather than 'power over' runs the danger of obscuring the fact that the church continues to exercise ministry as 'power over' so long as it is organized as a hierarchy of power dualisms.[42]

*A Hermeneutics of Imagination*

In this stage, which seeks to employ imaginative embellishments and retellings of the text, Fiorenza gives several examples of such practices from some of her students,[43] one of which involves Jesus in a discussion in Martha and Mary's house of his encounter with the Syro-Phoenician woman, an incident that is not recorded in Luke's gospel. Fiorenza is careful to point out that this is an exercise in a hermeneutics of creative *imagination*, and, in her overall procedure, such techniques are utilized only as the fourth step in a process that begins with exegesis of the text based on a hermeneutics of suspicion. However there are some risks in such an approach. For scholars who still want to claim the Bible as somehow normative, care must be taken not to replace the gospel with one's reconstruction.[44] A second danger, particularly if one proceeds too quickly to exercise a hermeneutics of imagination, is that one will not be taken seriously within the wider scholarly community.[45]

41. Fiorenza, *But She Said*, pp. 69-70 (p. 70).
42. Fiorenza, *But She Said*, pp. 70-72.
43. Fiorenza, *But She Said*, pp. 73-76.
44. This concern was expressed by Amy-Jill Levine in a conversation on 7 August 2000 at the Catholic Biblical Association meeting, Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, CA, during which we discussed the first published version of this paper.
45. Marianne Sawicki, who uses the technique of imaginative retelling, comments wryly on her experience in this regard in the Introduction to *Seeing the Lord:*

*Reactions to a Feminist-Critical Perspective*

*Adele Reinhartz*

Adele Reinhartz[46] begins her analysis of Lk. 10.38-42 by contrasting Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza's treatment of this pericope with that of Ben Witherington.[47] Reinhartz's discussion of Fiorenza, published in 1991, is limited to the two 1986 publications referred to above, concluding that each bears the stamp of the agenda of its author.[48] While approving of Fiorenza's avoidance of an anti-Jewish interpretation of the text, Reinhartz differs with her on several important points. In particular, she challenges the interpretation of διακονέω as indicating that Martha was engaged in preaching. While acknowledging that this can be one interpretation of διακονέω, she notes that other Lukan passages suggest the broader translation 'to serve', and that such service is ascribed to male servants (Lk. 17.8) and to Jesus (Lk. 12.37; 22.26-27) as well as to women (Lk. 4.39; 8.3; 10.40). Reinhartz also notes that Acts 6.2 specifically uses the verb to refer to service at table.

Reinhartz situates the Martha and Mary narrative in the context of the Lukan travel narrative and argues that Martha is to be seen as fulfilling the hospitality described in 10.8. Receiving the disciples by serving them

*Resurrection and Early Christian Practices* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1994). For an approach that combines traditional storytelling techniques with a hermeneutics of suspicion to retell the story of Martha and Mary from an Asian feminist perspective, see R. Rebera, 'Polarity or Partnership? Retelling the Story of Martha and Mary from Asian Women's Perspective', *Semeia* 78 (1997), pp. 93-107. For examples of interpretations that find positive examples in both Martha and Mary, though from a nonspecialist point of view, see Marjorie L. Kimbrough, *She is Worthy: Encounters with Biblical Women* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994,) pp. 113-20, and Rose Sallberg Kam, *Their Stories, Our Stories: Women of the Bible* (New York: Continuum, 1995), pp. 219-25. Kimbrough treats Mary and Martha as historical characters and appears to take material from Luke and John at face value. Kam is more discriminating in this regard, but unfortunately still can remark: 'Luke ministered to Hellenistic Christians in whose culture women enjoyed greater autonomy than within Judaism' (p. 220).

46. Adele Reinhartz, 'From Narrative to History: The Resurrection of Mary and Martha', in Levine (ed.), *'Women Like This'*, pp. 161-84.

47. According to Witherington, Jesus does not attempt to underrate Martha's efforts at hospitality, nor to attack a woman's traditional role, but to defend the right of Mary to learn from him: 'this is the crucial thing for those who wish to serve Him'. Ben Witherington III, *Women in the Ministry of Jesus: A Study of Jesus' Attitudes to Women and their Roles as Reflected in his Earthly Life* (SNTSMS, 51; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 101. Witherington emphasizes the contrast to underscore the superiority of the Christian over the Jewish milieu for women.

48. Reinhartz, 'From Narrative to History', p. 168.

and hearing their word is equivalent to receiving and hearing Jesus, and, to the extent that Martha and Mary do this, they epitomize true belief. 'This reading suggests that we have come upon Martha and Mary in the very act of conversion, of turning to Jesus as savior'.[49] The rebuke to Martha possibly indicates that concern for one element of discipleship, taking care of physical needs, should not overshadow the importance of listening to the word. Mary offers to Jesus the opportunity to serve her. Thus the remarks of Jesus are not intended to limit women's activity to passive listening, as Fiorenza maintains, nor do they portray women's new freedom to be disciples, as Witherington would have it; rather they accentuate that 'while service to others is important, hearing the word for oneself is the essential ingredient of discipleship'.[50] Jesus' words to Martha express the author's attitude toward discipleship in general, not particular views on women.

Further, Reinhartz contends, the fact that Martha and Mary are portrayed only in their relationship to Jesus is not evidence of androcentrism, as Fiorenza holds; rather, their characterization should be seen more as christocentric than androcentric, and indeed this is the inescapable focus of the gospel narrative. Additionally, Reinhartz argues that Jesus' seemingly unfair remark to Martha is part of a Lukan literary technique that frustrates the expectations of his implied readership in order to modify them. Mary's act, though seemingly inconsiderate, demonstrates the element of discipleship that Luke considers central: 'true service consists not of caring for physical needs but of ingesting, and digesting, the message of the gospel'.[51] While Reinhartz concedes that this does not necessarily acquit Luke of the charge of androcentrism or ignore the later ecclesiastical use of this passage to hinder women from positions of leadership, she nonetheless insists that Luke's use of female figures to express his views on discipleship 'at least implicitly attests to a role for women in his view of the church. Further, it suggests the willingness of the male members of his implied audience to derive a lesson from a story in which women are important characters'.[52]

Reinhartz analyzes the two Johannine passages that deal with Martha and Mary. Here she is in general agreement with Fiorenza that Jn 11 presents Martha as making a strong faith confession and that in both Johannine accounts there is no indication of competitiveness between the

49. Reinhartz, 'From Narrative to History', p. 169. I do not see that this conclusion necessarily follows.

50. Reinhartz, 'From Narrative to History', pp. 169-70 (p. 170).

51. Reinhartz, 'From Narrative to History', pp. 170-71.

52. Reinhartz, 'From Narrative to History', pp. 171-72 (p. 172).

sisters. Reinhartz emphasizes somewhat more than Fiorenza the elements in the Fourth Gospel narrative that are indicative of the two sisters being both firmly centered in a Jewish community and part of an intimate circle of Jesus' disciples.[53] She concludes by identifying what she perceives as her own two points of bias in treating the Martha and Mary texts: her attraction to the element of imagination in tracking the history of women in a period when their presence has been ignored, and her Jewish background, which makes her more sensitive to readings that pit Christianity against Judaism than to those that use the text for androcentric Christian agendas.[54]

In *But She Said*, Fiorenza notes briefly that she was not able to incorporate much of Reinhartz's reading specifically because of the closeness in publication of the two works, but Fiorenza does insist that Reinhartz 'overlooks that the rhetoric of kyriocentric texts functions differently with respect to women and men'.[55] Fiorenza does not further elaborate on this remark.

*Turid Karlsen Seim*

Turid Karlsen Seim, in her intensive examination of gender patterns in Luke–Acts, *The Double Message* (1994), disagrees with Fiorenza on some issues in the interpretation of Lk. 10.38-42, though in relation to the gospel as a whole, she does express opinions that are to some degree similar. Seim's reactions to Fiorenza are based on the latter's works up to and including 1988.[56]

Though conceding that in the Third Gospel in general the women's service includes more than food, Seim contends that the original connotation of the Greek word 'to serve food', 'to wait at table'[57] is constantly brought into play, including in Lk. 10.40. She objects to Fiorenza's suggestion that the widows in Acts 6 are being neglected in the area of eucharistic table ministry as betraying vested theological and political

53. Reinhartz, 'From Narrative to History', pp. 172-81.

54. Reinhartz, 'From Narrative to History', pp. 182-83.

55. Fiorenza, *But She Said*, p. 232 n. 24.

56. See Seim, *The Double Message*. In the 'Acknowledgments' section at the beginning, Seim apologizes for the fact that administrative duties have prevented her from updating the 1990 doctoral thesis on which her book is based as extensively as she would have wished, particularly in regard to material within the 'last years' before publication of her monograph (p. vii). She seems to be unacquainted with the (1991) articles of Reinhartz and Davies.

57. Here she relies on Joachim Jeremias, *Die Sprache des Lukasevangeliums: Redaktion und Tradition im Nicht-Markusstoff des dritten Evangeliums* (Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), p. 194.

interests,[58] tending to associate women's service exclusively with meals, and not making clear what is the role of texts that describe men preparing or distributing food, outside of a redactional interest in suppressing the mention of women.[59]

Seim views Lk. 10.38-42 as a narrative of hospitality set in the context of the Lukan travel narrative. Martha, who receives Jesus into her home, is an example of a patroness in comfortable circumstances. Nonetheless, Seim asserts, in opposition to Fiorenza, it cannot be established definitively that such a status involved institutional leadership, and no texts clearly couple functions such as preaching and responsibility for the Eucharist with the διακον-terminology.[60] The consistent use of κύριος to refer to Jesus characterizes him as authoritative Lord, but does not require that one posit a *Sitz im Leben* of a later community that appeals to such authority with no concern for available tradition. Readings such as those of Fiorenza which presuppose that the primary aim of the author was to contest Martha's diaconal leadership contain insights into the portrait of Mary, but rest on assumptions of a universally diffused technical usage of the διακονέω-terms which, according to Seim, are problematic. She maintains that Martha has much in common with typical female figures in Luke–Acts; she is well-off, independent, mistress of her own house, and as such is comparable to Tabitha (Acts 9.36-42), Mary (Acts 12.12), Lydia (Acts 16.15-40), Peter's mother-in-law (Lk. 4.38-39), and the women who follow Jesus and provide for him (Lk. 8.1-3).[61]

58. Seim does qualify this by remarking, 'It is, of course, no objection in itself to an exegetical result that it may serve as an argument in a theological debate, especially as traditional theological positions and church order are based on androcentric presuppositions' (*The Double Message*, p. 73 n. 150).

59. Seim, *The Double Message*, pp. 72-73. It is not clear how Fiorenza's remarks on Acts 6 tend to associate women's service exclusively with meals. It appears to me rather that she argues for an attempt by Luke to subordinate the ministry of table to the ministry of the word; her point is precisely that the seven who are ostensibly called to ministry at table in fact do become powerful preachers of the word (*In Memory of Her*, p. 165). In fact it is Seim who explicitly argues against any connection between a woman being a 'patroness' (Fiorenza would say 'head of a house church') and engaging in preaching.

60. Seim, *The Double Message*, pp. 98-100.

61. Seim, *The Double Message*, pp. 100-101; on p. 98 Seim asserts that the difference in textual variants in Lk. 10.38 is not significant, since 'the narrative makes it clear that Martha receives him in her own home' and also that Martha's name, 'a feminine form of "*mar*", that is, "sovereign lady", "ruling lady", "lady", emphasizes her autonomous, well-off and dominant position', citing J. Leipoldt, *Jesus und die Frauen: Bilder aus der Sittengeschichte der alten Welt* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1921), p. 189. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part?*, p. 156, makes a similar assertion in regard to Martha's name.

Luise Schottroff suggests that the assumption by most commentators that Lydia is a well-to-do woman is made without exploring 'the reality of her work, even though there is plenty of information regarding her vocation'. Schottroff argues that interpreters who often perceive women mentioned in the New Testament as more or less well-to-do are not basing their suppositions on the text, which more often than not makes reference to the work of the women rather than their wealth.[62] Similarly, 'The text speaks of Tabitha's work, not of her wealth'.[63] The traditional interpretation of the women in Lk. 8.1-3 has been challenged from another perspective by Robert Karris, building on the work of John N. Collins (with whom he disagrees), Italian scholar Carla Ricci and Filipina exegete Anicia Co. Karris would not stress the activity of the women in this passage as that of providing material assistance, and certainly would not limit it so.[64]

Seim views Martha's diaconal activity of practical care for others as being set in contrast with that of her sister, who is portrayed in the typical attitude of a student—at the Lord's feet.[65] Seim maintains that this role goes well beyond the usual opportunities for women to hear the word that were available in a worship context. In addition, the text refers to terms that are connected to teaching institutions within the rabbinic traditions.[66] In particular, the term 'lot' is used in *b Ber.* 4.2b in relation to a pupil at a place of teaching, and it employs a contrast between the lot of the student of the Law with that of the idler. In the gospel narrative, however, the contrast is with studies and a task that in other places in the gospel is stressed as necessary and good. Also, in the gospel narrative, unlike the rabbinic material, it is striking that the student is a woman. Women within Judaism did not have the right or the duty to be taught, Seim asserts, and in the strictest cases were prohibited from doing so, as *b. Kid.* 29b indicates. Though less data is available on actual

62. Luise Schottroff, *Lydia's Impatient Sisters: A Feminist Social History of Early Christianity* (trans. B. Rumscheidt and M. Rumscheidt; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1995), pp. 79-90 (p. 88).

63. Schottroff, *Lydia's Impatient Sisters*, p. 244 n. 137.

64. Karris, 'Women and Discipleship', citing John N. Collins, *Diakonia: Re-interpreting the Ancient Sources* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 77-95; Carla Ricci, *Maria di Magdala e le molte altre: Donne sul cammino di Gesù* (Naples: D'Auria, 1991); and Anicia Maria Co, 'The Major Summaries in Acts, Acts 2.42-47; 4.32-35; 5.12-16: Linguistic and Literary Relationships', *ETL* 68 (1992), pp. 49-85.

65. In support of this Seim (*The Double Message*, p. 101) cites Acts 22.3 and *Pirke Abot* 1.4.

66. Here Seim (*The Double Message*, p. 101) cites Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript*, p. 239.

practice, 'the sources indicate that praxis and theory...largely coincided'.[67] The few exceptions usually cited, Beruriah and the servant girl of Rabbi Judah, do not contradict this. Women needed knowledge of the Law insofar as it was connected to rules and prohibitions that affected them, but the woman's main task was to give support on the domestic side so that her husband could devote himself to his studies to the greatest possible degree.[68] Seim questions whether the type of argument she brings forth here should *eo ipso* be rejected as 'apologetically determined and comparatively anti-Jewish',[69] though she concedes that intensive investigation of Jewish sources from a feminist perspective might alter and significantly nuance the issue.

Seim is in agreement with Fiorenza that Martha plays the active role in the narrative, and that her appeal to Jesus alters the relationship between host and guest. She differs somewhat on the significance of the textual variants in Lk. 10.41-42, asserting that no matter which variant is chosen, there is at least something to be said in Martha's favor, provided one does not identify 'one thing necessary' with 'the good part' chosen by Mary. Jesus' rebuke to Martha does not refer to her 'serving', but to the fuss and agitation with which it is done, a point also made by Fiorenza. Martha's need for help leads her to disregard Mary's choice and to seek Jesus' support in this intrusion, and thus represents a threat that Mary's part can be taken away from her.[70]

Though recognizing the conflict present in Lk. 10.38-42, Seim asserts that while Jesus confirms the antithesis between the two sisters, he does not initiate it. He defends Mary's role, Seim implies, because Martha's role does not need defending. The διακονία role was taken for granted for women, and only when it is put forward as an ideal for free men and for the leadership does it become necessary to give special and christologically founded reasons.[71] However, despite the strength of Jesus' rebuke to Martha, the fact that the positive adjective ἀγαθή can be used in a comparative sense allows for the understanding that Martha's part can also be good, even if Mary's is better. The positive portrayal of

67. *The Double Message*, p. 102. No sources are cited in support of this statement.

68. Seim, *The Double Message*, pp. 101-103. In support of the last assertion, Seim cites A. Goldfeld, 'Women as Sources of Torah in the Rabbinic Tradition', in E. Koltun (ed.), *The Jewish Woman* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), pp. 257-71 (p. 258).

69. Seim, *The Double Message*, p. 102 n. 15. Reference here is made to a critique of such arguments in Fiorenza, 'Biblische Grundlegung', p. 33.

70. Seim, *The Double Message*, pp. 103-105.

71. Earlier, in *The Double Message*, p. 81, Seim had pointed out that until Lk. 12, διακονία and διακονέω are used only of women (4.39; 8.3; 10.40).

service elsewhere in the gospel makes it difficult to accept that such service should here be viewed as a mistaken choice.[72]

Seim views the relation between the gospel narrative and Acts 6.1-6 in terms of principle and application. Luke 10.38-42 exemplifies a normative regulation, supported by dominical authority, which is applied further in Acts 6. In Acts, it is taken for granted that God would not be pleased if the Twelve should abandon the service of the word to serve at table. The conflict of preferences thus takes on an opposite form when it has to do with prominent men. The two passages taken together demonstrate, surprisingly, that the option which the leading men can claim unhesitatingly is valid for women as well, though with the reservation that the relationship between hearing the word of the Lord and the service of the word must be examined more closely.[73] Seim contends that Luke's interest in Acts 6.1-6 is not to make a gender differentiation that involves men taking on responsibility for the word while women busy themselves with charitable activity, but to set a priority so that one service is subordinated to the other.[74] The occasion of the conflict in Acts 6.1, the neglect of the Hellenistic widows in the daily service, is viewed by Seim as of limited significance to the discussion of the gospel pericope.[75] However 'the historical fact that the twelve and the seven were men (as is seen from the lists of names) means that the eligibility of women is disallowed, and leadership is defined as the business of men'.[76] Nonetheless, passages such as Lk. 10.38-42 indicate that relationship to the word is decisive for the discipleship of women and this provides new opportunities for them.[77]

In the following sections, Seim goes on to explore how women hear the word in Luke–Acts,[78] the context in which they may speak,[79] and how they attempt to act on the word even without formal authorization.[80] At the end of the first section, Seim's conclusion is that women are portrayed primarily as recipients of the word, are not entrusted with commissions to preach, and are not depicted as public preachers or

72. Seim, *The Double Message*, pp. 105-106.

73. Seim, *The Double Message*, p. 108.

74. In this respect Seim, *The Double Message*, p. 108 n. 31, is in agreement with Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, pp. 165, 315, whom she cites in support.

75. Seim, *The Double Message*, p. 109.

76. Seim, *The Double Message*, p. 112.

77. Seim, *The Double Message*, pp. 107-112 (p. 112). What the new opportunities are is not specified.

78. Seim, *The Double Message*, pp. 112-18.

79. Seim, *The Double Message*, pp. 118-47.

80. Seim, *The Double Message*, pp. 147-63.

witnesses. Near the end of the second section she compares the treatment of women in Luke–Acts with that in the Fourth Gospel, where she notes that women carry out some of the same functions as in Luke–Acts, but that they cross the threshold of the house, being summoned forth, acting in full public view vis-à-vis men as well as women.[81] The final section acknowledges that though the status of the women as disciples is reaffirmed in the cross and grave narratives in Luke, they receive no explicit commission to preach, and their attempt to break through the boundaries in proclaiming the resurrection is stillborn.

> The effect is that women are withdrawn from the public proclamation and activity as teachers, and the way is laid open for the men's assumption of power in Acts when public testimony to Jesus' resurrection is borne from Jerusalem to Rome.[82]

At the beginning of her final chapter, Seim maintains that she has demonstrated that 'it is a preposterous simplification to ask whether Luke's writings are friendly or hostile to women', because the tension in Luke's narrative has become apparent in its ambivalent evidence both of strong traditions about women and of the social and ideological controls that silenced them and promoted male dominance in positions of leadership.[83] This probably illustrates the most fundamental difference between Seim and Fiorenza, who certainly acknowledges the tension in Luke–Acts' portrayal of women. Seim seems unwilling to charge the author of Luke–Acts with deliberately setting out to subvert awareness of the leadership role of women in the early church. Though she does not quite come right out and say so, she apparently views Luke as a basically neutral recorder of both the strong traditions about women and the process of silencing them. Fiorenza, on the other hand, has no hesitation in accusing Luke of deliberate attempts to subvert the memory of authoritative women. What Seim views as evidence of 'friendly' treatment toward women, such as consistent assertion that women are disciples too, Fiorenza regards as so fundamental that Luke could not have questioned it if he wanted to. Fiorenza maintains that the function of the women in the cross and grave accounts and even the names of Martha and Mary are based on historical memory that was so well known at the time Luke–Acts was written that it would be impossible to totally ignore.

81. Seim, *The Double Message*, p. 146.
82. Seim, *The Double Message*, p. 163.
83. Seim, *The Double Message*, p. 249.

*Barbara E. Reid*

In her examination of women in the Third Gospel, *Choosing the Better Part?* (1996), Barbara E. Reid utilizes elements of historical, literary, and narrative criticism, as well as social study of the New Testament, from a feminist liberation perspective that takes into account the four stages of hermeneutics delineated by Fiorenza. Nonetheless she is careful to recognize the limitations inherent in each of these methods; she also identifies her own social location and experience and acknowledges the way these shape her approach to the text.[84] In an examination of the meaning of the verb διακονέω, she makes reference to Fiorenza's argument that the conflict in regard to the Hellenist widows in Acts 6.1-7 had reference to eucharistic table service, but notes, citing the philological study of Collins, that in general it means to carry out a charge, either from God or some authority within the community. It can refer to waiting on tables, but also can express the epitome of Jesus' mission, as in Lk. 22.25-27, where Jesus does not actually serve a meal, but charges his disciples to adopt the attitude of 'one who serves'.[85]

Reid begins her close study of Lk. 10.38-42 by raising a number of questions that indicate problems with some earlier approaches. If the Christian ideal is to integrate contemplation and action, why are the two cast dualistically, with one approved and the other impugned? Why is Martha reprimanded for following the directive given by Jesus in Lk. 22.27? Why is only hearing the word esteemed here, when the gospel as a whole insists on the importance of both hearing and doing the word? If Mary is such a good listener, why isn't she aware of Martha's problem? Why doesn't Jesus, so compassionate toward the underdog, sympathize with Martha? Further problems are created by the fact that most women identify with Martha, and, feeling they shouldn't be angry with Jesus, direct their resentment toward those sisters who choose the luxury of contemplative sitting.

Interpretations that endeavor either to rescue the text or to defend Jesus from the charge of being unfairly critical of hard-working women assert that Jesus is critical either of Martha's anxiety[86] or of her distraction with 'many things', often interpreted as many dishes for a meal. Such readings, Reid maintains, do not take seriously the tensions in the text, which emphasizes only the dimension of hearing, with no hint of

84. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part?*, pp. 2-12.

85. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part?*, pp. 100-101, with reference to Collins, *Diakonia*, pp. 77-95.

86. I would agree with Seim and Fiorenza that it is not Martha's service that is being criticized, but her anxiety.

how Mary will *act* on the word she hears. Further, the anxiety of Martha is not equivalent to that denounced in other Lukan texts,[87] and it should be noted that Paul speaks with approval about women who are anxious about the things of the Lord in 1 Cor. 7.34.[88] Additionally, διακονέω is not exclusively associated with table service, and the text gives no indication that a meal is involved.

Attempts to pair Lk. 10.38-42 with the narrative of the Good Samaritan immediately preceding suggest that, taken together, the two episodes illustrate the hearing and doing of the word. However, Reid points out, there is no evidence that these two episodes were so closely linked in the tradition.[89] In the Johannine accounts of Martha and Mary, Martha goes out to meet Jesus while Mary 'sat at home', and Martha complains of Jesus' delay in arriving (with a very different response!), but there is no link with any Good Samaritan incident.[90] The tensions within the text of Lk. 10.38-42, Reid suggests, explain the number of textual variants that, in one way or another, attempt to mute the sharp criticism of Martha.[91]

Approaches that interpret Jesus' approval of Mary as upholding theological education for women likewise are problematic. If this is what is done for Mary, it occurs at the expense of Martha's service. Observations on how revolutionary Jesus was in instructing a woman reflect stereotyped ideas that social practices were uniform and uniformly observed, and do not take into account that customs were in flux in the first-century Hellenistic world. Likewise, assertions that boundaries

87. Examples are given in Reid, *Choosing the Better Part?*, p. 146, but I am not convinced they demonstrate the point beyond a doubt.

88. This is true, but not decisive without further discussion. Paul's fourfold use of μεριμνάω in 1 Cor. 7.32-34 seems to favor one type of concern over another, but it is clear that it is the object of concern that makes the difference: concern over pleasing one's spouse vs. concern over the things of the Lord. In Lk. 10.38-42 it is clear that Martha is being chided for her 'concern' or 'anxiety', and also that the object of anxiety is her διακονία, but it is precisely the nature of that διακονία that is in dispute. Reid's comparison with Paul's use is valid only if it can be demonstrated conclusively that Martha's διακονία relates to 'the things of the Lord' in the same sense as Paul's statement.

89. Seim, *The Double Message*, p. 14, likewise does not find sufficient evidence to consider these two stories a pair. If they were not linked in the tradition, then their proximity in the gospel should be attributed to the gospel's author, it would seem, and this could suggest an intentional link between the two. However it does seem somewhat odd that the 'doing' precedes the 'hearing'. Possibly the contrast is between the compassionate Samaritan's calm service and Martha's anxiety over her service, however that is defined.

90. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part?*, pp. 144-48.

91. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part?*, p. 149.

between men and women were never crossed fly in the face of biblical evidence from both Old (Gen. 24.10-49; 29.4-14; Exod. 2.15-22) and New Testaments (Lk. 7.13, 48, 50; 8.48; 13.12; 23.28-31). Additionally, this type of reading: (1) ignores the fact that formal education of women was becoming more acceptable in the Hellenistic period; (2) quotes Jewish sources in support very selectively, often without regard to their post-New Testament dating; and (3) overlooks the fact that where Jesus is depicted as educating disciples elsewhere in Luke, this is done, as in rabbinic tradition, through dialogue. Mary is a silent audience, not a dialogue partner.[92]

The real point of disagreement, Reid maintains, both in the early church and the contemporary discussion, is not whether women can study theology, but what ministries they may be involved in as a result of such education. The New Testament gives evidence both that women exercised a diversity of ministries, which included leadership, public proclamation, and apostolic work (Rom. 16.1-2, 3, 6, 12; Phil. 4.2-3; 1 Tim. 3.11), and also that there was no uniform view regarding the propriety of women exercising such ministries. Reid groups the third evangelist with the author of the pastorals as being among the group intent on silencing women by placing on the lips of Jesus a strong approval of the silent Mary. Reid argues that the textual variants in Lk. 10.38 which attest to the reading that Martha welcomed Jesus *into her home* are most likely original, because without them the statement is abrupt and incomplete, and that omissions of them reflect a further stage of development that attempts to obscure Martha's role as head of a house church.[93]

Further, Reid asserts, Lk. 10.38-39 does not display tension between the two sisters. The Greek verb ὑπεδέξατο, a compound of δέχομαι, which expresses Martha's welcome of Jesus, is employed in Luke–Acts not only to denote hospitality in the sense of making a person welcome, but to describe receiving, hearing or understanding the word (Lk. 8.13; 18.17; Acts 8.14; 11.1; 17.11). Thus Martha's 'welcoming' of Jesus is equivalent to Mary's 'listening to him' in that both refer to the act of faith of receiving Jesus and his word.[94] The tension arises over how their respective reception of the word is expressed in ministry. Martha's complaint is not that she has too much work, but that she is being denied her role in ministerial service. In περιεσπᾶτο περὶ πολλὴν διακονίαν, the

92. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part?*, pp. 149-54, with pp. 152-53 focusing on the question of Jewish sources. Also see n. 10 above.

93. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part?*, pp. 154-55.

94. On this point Reinhartz has expressed a similar opinion in 'From Narrative to History', p. 169.

preposition περί has the sense 'about' or 'concerning'. Her distress is *about* her works, but not *because* of them. The verb περισπάω is usually translated 'distracted' in this text, but its fundamental definition is 'to be pulled or dragged away',[95] and in this context more likely refers to Martha's being pulled away from diaconal ministry by some who disapprove.[96]

The fact that Martha's complaint to Jesus refers to Mary as 'my sister', a term that could refer to any Christian woman, may indicate, Reid suggests, that Martha's distress has arisen partially from the fact that her female former companions in ministry have been persuaded to accept a silent listening role. Luke's formulation of Jesus' reply to her in v. 41 omits any reference to διακονία, thus obliterating her diaconal ministry. However, the word translated 'worry' (θορυβάζω) indicates that the 'worry' involves a more public matter. While this usage is a *hapax legomenon* in the New Testament, its cognates θορυβέω and θόρυβος, utilized a total of 11 times in Mark, Matthew, and Acts, always occur in the context of a disturbance made by a crowd.[97]

Following this analysis of the gospel pericope, Reid goes on to a comparison of the Johannine Martha and Mary texts with results similar to those discussed in other authors above.[98] She then addresses the issue of the contemporary significance of the text, stressing that it is important to recognize that the Lukan approbation of silent, passive women is only one side of an early Christian debate, one that was, in fact, rejected by later Christians, particularly in the medieval period, where Martha is often painted killing a dragon, in a pose similar to that of St George. She notes that Fra Angelico depicts Martha and Mary at Gethsemane with Mary reading a book and Martha in a pose that imitates that of Jesus, and elsewhere portrays Martha as accompanying Veronica at the foot of the cross. Further, Meister Eckhart preached that Mary was a novice in the contemplative life, while Martha was the one who had advanced to integrating contemplation and action. Martha also became the patron saint of numerous communities of women.[99]

Reid concludes by reflecting that if today we were to follow the example of creative revisioning of the medieval period in rewriting the second half of the story, such a portrait would perhaps challenge

95. With reference to BAGD, p. 650.

96. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part?*, pp. 155-57.

97. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part?*, pp. 157-58, with reference to BAGD, p. 650.

98. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part?*, pp. 159-60.

99. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part?*, pp. 160-61. The medieval examples are taken from Elisabeth Moltmann-Wendel, *The Women Around Jesus* (New York: Crossroad, 1988), pp. 14-48.

rivalries and hostilities sometimes evident between women who choose different roles, and might cause us to realize that the better part, or the one thing needed, might be different for each person and each community and each age, and we might then act out of a vision that allows the rich diversity of gifts in the community to be employed in service without regard to gender distinctions.[100]

*Robert M. Price*

Robert M. Price, in *The Widow Traditions in Luke–Acts* (1997),[101] situates himself within a feminist perspective that utilizes a hermeneutics of suspicion, recognizing that the persuasive power of such an approach lies in its ability to tie up loose ends without leaving too many of its own, 'not in some kind of definitive disposal or refutation of all previous views'.[102] He contends that the tensions within the text of Lk. 10.38-42 are to be explained by the fact that the present narrative evolved in five distinct stages, each of which offers support for one of the various suggested and often conflicting situations. In the earliest stage of the story, as previously noted by Erling Laland,[103] the point was appropriate treatment of itinerant missionaries, giving hospitality while avoiding the dangers of overindulging the guest and overburdening the host or hostess. In this early stage, Mary did not appear; the contrast was between potential fellowship with 'the Lord' and the failure to realize this potential because of too much fussing. In the first stage, the only historical kernel was the situation of a house-church meal where a considerate missionary spoke to a harried hostess, but their names were not Jesus and Martha.[104]

In Stage Two, Price suggests, the addition of the 'Mary' subplot reflects a concern to recruit consecrated celibate women by offering them freedom from domestic captivity. A similar concern is exhibited in 1 Cor. 7, and, as there, no contrast with any specifically Jewish customs is implied.[105] Stage Three accounts for the addition of 'which shall not be

100. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part?*, pp. 161-62.

101. Price, *Widow Traditions*, pp. 175-90.

102. Price, *Widow Traditions*, p. xxxvi.

103. Laland, 'Die Martha–Maria Perikope', p. 82.

104. Price, *Widow Traditions*, pp. 177-78. Price considers the suggestion of Mary Rose D'Angelo, 'Women Partners in the New Testament', *JFSR* 6 (1990), pp. 65-86, esp. pp. 77-81, that the story reflects a historical Martha and Mary, an early missionary team well known in the early church. He feels that this may have been the reason why a 'Mary' was added to this narrative, but that if so this was done at a later stage.

105. Price, *Widow Traditions*, pp. 178-82.

taken away from her', a response to the danger that the choice of consecrated celibacy was being discouraged, as evidenced in 1 Tim 5.3-16. From this point, the freedom displayed in Stage Two would only be feasible in emerging 'heretical' movements such as Montanism or in widows' homes where several women were supported by a wealthy patron, who might also be a widow.[106]

It is only in Stage Four, Price asserts, that the role of Martha comes into question. At this point the passage has been co-opted by those from whom the previous version endeavored to defend Mary. Price unhesitatingly indicts Luke as the culprit who subtly alters the story mainly by its redactional placement. Like Fiorenza, he views the Lukan text as an attempt to abolish the diaconate or gospel ministry of women and reduce them to silent passivity, and takes issue with J. Bradley Chance[107] and Luke Timothy Johnson,[108] who argue against Fiorenza's reading of Acts 6.1-7, maintaining that there is no tension between the appointed role of the seven and their later preaching, because 'serving at table' is equivalent to being the greatest in the community and holding apostolic authority, and thus the appointment of the seven to serve tables symbolizes their receiving the same authority. The problem with such an interpretation, Price points out, is that, since the Twelve expressly aver they will have nothing to do with table service, they would thus seem to be resigning authority rather than sharing it.[109] By dividing ministry into that of the word and that of the table, whether the latter refers to eucharistic service or food distribution, Lk. 10.38-42 appears to prohibit women from exercising either ministry. Martha, who is busy with

106. Price, *Widow Traditions*, pp. 182-83.

107. J. Bradley Chance, *Jerusalem, the Temple and the New Age in Luke–Acts* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988), p. 107.

108. Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Literary Function of Possessions in Luke–Acts* (SBLDS, 39; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977), pp. 212-13.

109. Price, *Widow Traditions*, pp. 183-85. Elsewhere (pp. 210-16), he suggests that Acts 6.1-6 should be read against Num. 11.11-30, where the initial complaint appears to be about food service, but in fact the purpose of the tale is to legitimize the institution of the system of 70 judges. Likewise in Acts, the complaining is simply an occasion for authenticating an ecclesial office: boards of seven men either to supervise food distribution to widows, or, more likely, to arbitrate disputes between widows or listen to their complaints of unfair treatment, thus taking the burden off the Twelve, as the judges did for Moses. Further support of this suggestion can be found in Exod. 18.10-27, which Price does not cite. Price points out that in the passage from Acts, Luke has typically added the redactional detail of *complaining* or *murmuring* widows to a story which at first lacked it, thus transforming the narrative into a sarcastic put-down of the widows (p. 216).

serving the Lord Jesus, is told not to bother, and Mary is not depicted as doing any ministry other than sitting and keeping still.[110]

Regarding the final stage, that of the various textual emendations, Price proposes that such alterations have no relation either to food or to the contrast between the roles of the two sisters. Rather, once the text became regarded as a charter for the widows along the lines of the synoptic mission charge, the variants in Lk. 10.38-42 most likely reflect disputes as to what types and what kind of property the widows could own, if any, and what sort of gifts they could receive. The synoptic parallels display similar inconsistencies among themselves and in their respective textual variants as to whether the missionary may take a staff, no staff, any money, or extra sandals. Thus, 'we must suspect that the survival of the various significant details in our pericope denotes the addition of "tradition barnacles". Had they no purpose, they wouldn't be there'.[111]

### *Critical Considerations*

A first remark is relative to the concern of authors like Davies, Fiorenza, Reinhartz, Reid, and Price that interpretations which attempt to argue for the superiority of Christian over Jewish treatment of women must, at the least, be viewed with great suspicion. In the case of the passages from Luke–Acts under consideration, such assumptions are borne out neither by the text nor by supporting argumentation. While this lack of sensitivity in earlier Christian feminist scholars may perhaps be somewhat excusable on the grounds of lack of awareness, it is more disturbing that such an approach is still being employed by Seim. Despite her disclaimer, the appearance of anti-Jewish bias in her interpretation is problematic. She cites Jewish sources selectively, and her statement 'the sources indicate that praxis and theory...largely coincided'[112] is unsupported.[113]

110. Price, *Widow Traditions*, pp. 185-86.

111. Price, *Widow Traditions*, pp. 187-90 (p. 190).

112. Seim, *The Double Message*, p. 102.

113. Amy-Jill Levine (see n. 44 above) inquired whether I thought the aspects of Seim's and Reinhartz's positions that I criticized in the 1999 version of this article might be attributable, at least in part, to social location, Seim being a European scholar and Reinhartz a Jewish scholar. In the case of Seim, I think several of her statements indicate that she was aware she was open to criticism on the use of Jewish sources, but that lack of time prevented her from updating what in effect was a work completed in 1990 (see nn. 56 and 69 above). Even before 1990, however, a more sensitive perspective had been expressed in a number of writings. For examples, see Reid, *Choosing the Better Part?*, pp. 150-53. In regard to Reinhartz, however, having since read a number of studies that do not deal specifically with the passages from Luke and Acts focused

On the other hand, my initial impression was that Reinhartz appears to display a corresponding lack of awareness, and admits to a lack of interest, of the way this passage has disturbed Christian women because of the degree to which they identify with Martha in Lk. 10.38-42. However, when I thought about my own reaction to this passage, I realized that I had begun to identify with the women of EPS and their mothers, but also that their anger was primarily due to the way this text had been preached. I asked for responses to the same passage from my undergraduate students in a class on Women in the New Testament, most of whom did not recall any preaching on the text at all. The majority of them did not identify the kinds of opposition in the text that are generally brought out by those espousing a hermeneutics of suspicion, and they were not angry as a result of reading it. So perhaps in this case Reinhartz's social location permits her to approach the text with less bias. Is it really the text many of us have reacted against, or the centuries of interpretation that for some of us have become almost inseparable from it?

Originally, I commented that it appeared to me that Reinhartz overlooked the very real differences between the relations of the two sisters in the Lukan and Johannine narratives that Fiorenza had delineated already in her 1986 works but in even more detail in *But She Said*. I also maintained that the point is not simply that the Lukan gospel is Christocentric; in addition, Martha is depicted as relating to Jesus not only as a subordinate to the Lord, but in a childish and complaining fashion similar to that of the older brother to his father in Lk. 15.11-32. The difference is that the story of the prodigal son does not name either of the two brothers; neither does it contain any likelihood that the reference is to historical persons.

The naming of Martha and Mary and the lack of names in Lk. 15.11-32 *may* be reflective of an intention on Luke's part to diminish two women who were known to the early Christian community by creating an antagonism that is certainly not reflected in the Johannine account, as well as to diminish the role of Martha. Luke's use of the diminutive 'Priscilla' rather than Prisca in Acts 18.2, 18, 26 is sometimes thought to manifest a similar tendency to lessen the importance of noted women in the New Testament. Also, in contrast to Luke's use of the two women, Paul employs a reference to two women mentioned in the Old Testament, Hagar and Sarah, in Gal. 4.21-31, but he limits the point of

on in this paper, but that do provide some reasonable assertions about the literary techniques of the author of Luke–Acts, I have somewhat modified my earlier comments.

comparison to the condition of freedom or servitude that each woman represents, even though in this case the narratives in Gen. 16 and 21 to which he alludes do suggest rivalry between the two women.

Nonetheless, 'Priscilla', together with Aquila, *is* portrayed by the author of Luke–Acts as more accurately expounding the way of God (Acts 18.26) to Apollos, a man well versed in the Scriptures (Acts 18.24), and in this instance (as in Acts 18.18) 'Priscilla' is mentioned first (unlike Acts 18.2); this has been viewed as a sign of her greater importance.[114] Reinhartz has also made the point that Jesus' seemingly unfair remark to Martha is part of a Lukan literary technique, applied to both male and female characters, which frustrates the expectations of his implied readership in order to modify them.

I would still maintain that Reinhartz offers little support for her assertions that 'while service to others is important, hearing the word for oneself is the essential ingredient of discipleship'[115] and 'true service consists not of caring for physical needs but of ingesting, and digesting, the message of the gospel'.[116] One might suggest that acting on the word is also an indispensable ingredient of discipleship, as evidenced in Lk. 9.23, where discipleship is portrayed as willingness to take up a daily life of self-denial, or Lk. 9.48, where welcoming a child in Jesus' name is equivalent to welcoming him. Indeed, Seim makes a good case for the importance of hearing the word and attempting to act on it;[117] nonetheless, women portrayed in the Third Gospel, as well as in Acts, are restricted in the ways in which they can act out the word.[118]

Reinhartz does not deal with the issue pointed out by Fiorenza and others that nowhere does the author of Luke–Acts, despite numerous male–female parallels, pair even one story of a leading male disciple with that of a corresponding female disciple and that there is not one account in Acts of a woman preaching, leading a congregation, or presiding over a house church. On the other hand, one could object to Fiorenza's assertions to some degree. 'Priscilla' is portrayed as acting in conjunction with Aquila, though here the use of the diminutive may be intended to diminish her importance. Additionally, one could make the same claim in regard to 'Priscilla' that Fiorenza does of Martha and Mary

114. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, 'Prisca and Aquila, Traveling Tentmakers and Church Builders', *BR* 8.6 (1992), pp. 40-51. The author of 2 Tim. refers to 'Prisca and Aquila' in 4.19, despite the negative view of women expressed in 3.6-7.

115. Reinhartz, 'From Narrative to History', p. 170.

116. Reinhartz, 'From Narrative to History', pp. 170-71.

117. Seim, *The Double Message*, pp. 112-18.

118. See the detailed treatment of Lukan discipleship in Reid, *Choosing the Better Part?*, pp. 21-54.

(that they were so well known Luke could hardly ignore them completely). Paul refers to the couple in Rom. 16.3-5 (Prisca and Aquila) and 1 Cor. 16.19 (Aquila and Prisca) and clearly regards them highly. One could also point put that Mary in Acts 12.12 appears to be the head of a house church, though the counter-objection would be that she isn't specified as *doing* anything. As noted, 'Priscilla' is at least portrayed as teaching one prominent male disciple, though not as preaching.

Reinhartz displays no awareness of Fiorenza's argument in *In Memory of Her* that in Acts 6 the seven appointed to table service actually become powerful preachers of the διακονία of the word and that the daily distribution in which the widows were neglected could refer to eucharistic table service, or to Fiorenza's remarks in the same place to the effect that nothing in the text suggests that the widows referred to there were recipients of charity. What perhaps requires further discussion is the assertion about διακονία made by all of these authors in conjunction with Collins's detailed study of διακονία[119] that takes issue with major claims about the root meaning of διακονία as having to do with waiting at tables, argued for by H.W. Beyer.[120] Collins contends rather that the principal meaning is that of someone authorized with the task of delivering a message as the representative of someone in authority. Likewise pertinent to the discussion are the social historical questions relative to the interpretation of διακονία raised by Luise Schottroff, who also comments on the history of interpretation which has assumed gender differentiations in the use of the term διακονία that have a questionable basis in the New Testament texts.[121]

Complicating the issue still further is that since the original publication of my article, Collins has challenged the interpretations of Fiorenza, Reid, Seim, and Schottroff, offering his own reading of Lk. 10.38-42.[122] However, this can be in no way regarded as definitive. Collins's overriding principle is that words must be read in their context. Robert Karris, in a 1994 study that deals with other passages in Luke, uses Collins's 1990 work to conclude to a strong sense of the διακονεῖν of women in Lk. 8.1-3, contending that Collins interprets this passage in a manner that contradicts the data he has assembled. Karris maintains that

119. *Diakonia* (see n. 65 above). A more popular version of the argument appears in *idem, Are All Christians Ministers?* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992). An analysis of Collins's position is beyond the scope of this discussion; both books have been reviewed by John D'Arcy May, 'Ministry Reconsidered', *Doctrine and Life* 44 (1994), pp. 150-52.

120. Beyer, 'διακονέω', *TDNT*, II, p. 92.

121. Schottroff, *Lydia's Impatient Sisters*, pp. 204-33.

122. Collins, 'Did Luke Intend a Disservice?', pp. 104-111.

two major problems exist in regard to the clarity of Collins's arguments: '(1) most of our contemporary English translations of the pertinent passages in Acts (and Paul) render διακονεῖν with the dative differently than he does; (2) he does not write clearly'.[123] Collins dismisses Karris's article with one sentence, but a convincing counter-argument would require much more detail. Similarly, when Collins finally comes to discuss Lk. 10.38-42, his exposition consists of two paragraphs in which he assumes a meal setting without argumentation. Perhaps ironically, his concluding remark, that the contrast in the passage is between hearing the word and anxious behavior,[124] is not disputed by Fiorenza or Seim.

Whether Martha's διακονία involves preaching or practical hospitality, there remains a strong sense that Lk. 10.38-42 in the literary context of Luke–Acts validates a passive role for women rather than an active role, even if the passive role is an apparently sublime one. Defending Mary's right to claim a (or the) key element of discipleship does not really amount to much if everyone agrees that women can be disciples, which would seem to be evident from, among other texts, Gal. 3.28, the Fourth Gospel, and 1 Pet. 3.7. (The text from 1 Peter occurs in a context in which Christian women are urged to be subordinate to their husbands!) Seim argues that the passage clearly indicates that Mary's choice is in danger, but is unable to find any other support outside the narrative that this is so.[125] Though she criticizes many points of Fiorenza's interpretation, what Seim has finally to admit, after extensive analysis,[126] is that in Luke–Acts neither Mary of Bethany nor any other woman, with the exception of 'Priscilla', is empowered to do anything more than listen, and even Mary's activity is limited to the home; both Seim and Reinhartz concede that the treatment of Martha and Mary in John's gospel is much more favorable by comparison. Likewise, evidence from the letters of Paul indicates that historically women did have leadership roles in the early church, and there appears to be no evidence in the New Testament that the right of women to be Christian disciples was challenged. It may very well be the case that the reason for this was that, despite the alleged restrictions on Jewish women, it was never questioned that they were part of the people of Israel, the people of God. Thus, for Fiorenza, Price, and Reid, that the author of Luke–Acts portrays both men and women as

123. Karris, 'Women and Discipleship', p. 8 n. 21.

124. Collins, 'Did Luke Intend a Disservice?', pp. 104-111.

125. Price, in discussion of his 'Stage Three', *Widow Traditions*, pp. 182-83, agrees that Mary's choice was in danger, but has a different interpretation of what constituted Mary's choice; for him it would have involved a more positive role.

126. Seim, *The Double Message*, pp. 112-63.

disciples is not the issue; rather, their critique is that he consistently presents males in leadership roles in the early Christian community and rarely if ever does so for women despite evidence in other New Testament texts that women exercised such roles. However, whether he does this intentionally is another question.

Some of Price's suggestions are quite novel, and reconstructing stages of a biblical text is always a risky undertaking, yet his reconstruction does have the virtue of accounting for the admittedly contradictory elements in the text that are not dealt with in a completely satisfactory manner in any of the preceding treatments. An effective challenge to his theory of stages would involve an attempt to explain all the contradictory or apparently contradictory elements in the text. As far as procedure is concerned, the major difference between Price and such scholars as Fiorenza and Reid is in where they locate precise elements of redactional changes to an original oral or written tradition. Where all three agree is in squarely placing the blame on the author of Luke–Acts for attempting to subvert leadership roles for women that were taken for granted at an earlier period. In this regard the major difference between these three authors in contrast to Reinhartz and Seim is that the latter two, Seim in particular, view the author of Luke–Acts as simply a more or less neutral recorder of this situation of conflict.

Given the fact that these or any other passages of Scripture provide evidence of a difference of opinion in regard to church practice, on what basis should we claim support for contemporary church practice?[127] John Chrysostom matter-of-factly commented that he believed that the two women mentioned in Phil. 4.2, Euodia and Syntyche, were head (τὸ κεφάλαιον) of the church in Philippi,[128] but he clearly does not believe the women of his day to be capable of fulfilling a similar function. Chrysostom views both the men and women of his day as sadly lacking in their living of the Christian life in comparison with the Philippian congregation of Paul's day. After tracing the root meaning of διακονία, Collins leaves open the possibility that women could be ministers today if the church so decided, because he reads the New Testament evidence as suggesting that no individual has a right to a particular ministry, but

127. In 'Ministry Reconsidered', p. 152 (see n. 117 above), reviewing Collins's work, D'Arcy May raises the related questions, 'Is an exegetical corrective, however persuasive, sufficient to cancel out theological developments which have gone beyond the literal meaning of the text? If not, what are the criteria for the legitimacy of such developments?'

128. John Chrysostom, *In Divi Pauli epistolas ad Philippenses, Colossenses et Thessalonicenses homiliae* (ed. F. Field; BPEC; Oxford: J.H. Parker, 1855), p. 146.

rather that the church has the right to decide who its ministers will be;[129] 'what the church declares to be ministry is ministry'.[130]

On the other hand, to concentrate exclusively on officially recognized ministry is perhaps not such a wise move for those who consider themselves feminists. Such ministry is only one aspect of the church's life. Women like Perpetua, Hildegard of Bingen, Clare of Assisi, Catherine of Siena, Katherine Drexel, Jane Addams, and Mother Teresa did not have to be officially recognized ministers; they simply responded to what they perceived as a call. Despite the suffering that following that call often entailed, these women were not anxious about their service, and their influence has not been inconsiderable.

One thing that strikes me in regard to this whole discussion is that, despite the claim to utilize new approaches, so many of the authors involved in the dialogue seem very intent on identifying Luke's authorial intention. This type of concern is usually identified with a more traditional historical-critical approach. The debate seems to be so polarized now that I doubt either side is going to find wholly convincing arguments. It appears to me that there are good, though not decisive, arguments on both sides. However, I would suggest that perhaps this difference in regard to authorial intention is not so critical. None of these scholars, I believe, would deny that Lk. 10.38-42 and Acts 6.1-7, in the context of Luke–Acts as a whole, manifests a tension in regard to the proper role of women disciples, a tension that has been mirrored through the centuries in the variety of interpretations of the Lukan text that express some type of polarity.[131] Further, this difference of opinion as to the proper role for women surfaces in the New Testament as a whole.

However, even if Lk. 10.38-42 and Acts 6.1-7 are reflective of a hostile attitude to the ministry of women in the early church, this need not be seen as cause for cynicism, since there are grounds for corrective in the wider perspective of the New Testament, particularly in the passages from the Fourth Gospel that deal with Martha and Mary. I would venture to suggest that what Reid describes as creative revisioning might be more properly viewed as balancing a negative biblical perspective with a positive one. The lack of competitiveness between the two sisters in Jn 11 is clear (together with their grief at the loss of their brother), as is the prominent position of Martha, who utters the faith confession that is placed on the lips of Peter in the synoptic gospels. Also in this narrative, Martha is more active and Mary is somewhat passive (as in the Lukan

129. Collins, *Are all Christians Ministers?*, p. 3.
130. Collins, *Are all Christians Ministers?*, p. 65.
131. For examples, see Fiorenza, *But She Said*, p. 58.

account), remaining at home until Martha informs her that Jesus (whom Martha identifies as 'the teacher') is asking for her. Nonetheless in Jn 12 both sisters are depicted in roles of service. Martha is involved with serving the meal, while Mary is occupied with the hospitable service of anointing Jesus' feet, an action paralleled by Jesus in Jn 13.3-5. Thus even if one cannot redeem Luke from the charge of misogyny, there is ample basis within the New Testament for a corrective reading.

However, I am intrigued by the possibility that a basis for corrective may also be present within the text of Lk. 10.38-42 itself, a suggestion inspired by John Barclay.[132] My tendency would have been to critique the household code in Colossians in relation to husbands and wives on the basis of material in the undisputed letters of Paul, particularly 1 Cor. 7, but Barclay gave convincing reasons for basing the critique on material found in Colossians itself, while at the same time being careful to make clear that the author of the letter may not consciously have recognized this.

In the Lukan passage, it seems almost impossible to come to agreement on the author's intention. However there is something that is apparent from the text that has been noticed by three authors espousing widely different perspectives (Fiorenza, Seim, and Collins): what is being criticized in the passage is Martha's anxiety, not her service, however that is defined. Additionally, in reflecting on use of the passage in a hermeneutics of proclamation, Fiorenza suggests that Mary's daring in taking time to sit and do nothing could be a model for lower-class women. This seems to indicate that, whatever the intention of the author of the Third Gospel, the text indicates that there is something positive about Mary's stance. Calmly sitting and relaxing in the company of a guest can be viewed as a creative choice, particularly while someone else who is possibly in a superior position is anxious. The placement of the compassionate Samaritan narrative immediately following also provides an example of an 'outsider' who calmly attends the one in need without considering the cost or bother to himself, in contrast to the anxious 'official' religious men who pass by. Perhaps the Lukan technique of reversal operates even without the author's conscious awareness. And perhaps this has to do with the fact that underlying not only Luke–Acts but the New Testament as a whole is the basic Wisdom perspective that identifies the crucified Jesus with the wisdom and power of God.

132. John Barclay, 'Ordinary But Different: Colossians and Hidden Moral Identity', a paper given at the annual SBL meeting, Boston, MA, 20-23, November 1999.

*Conclusion: The Ongoing Task*

I began this reflection with a story about the mothers from EPS. Recently I returned for another presentation, and this time they expressed concern about what to say to daughters who felt there was no place for them in the church. It is these daughters, and the young college students from varied religious traditions whom I teach, with whom I now identify more and more. I think it might be possible to use the Martha and Mary passage to encourage them to take a creative stance within their own religious tradition. Anxiety, even when it seems understandable, is not a healthy condition in which to live one's life. While Fiorenza has expressed a justified concern about abuse of the notion of service to keep those who are powerless in subjection, it is nonetheless true that real power to influence people's lives and happiness does not depend on having an official position, and being in such a position does not guarantee happiness. At the first Women's Ordination Conference in Detroit in 1976, a number of Roman Catholic women identified themselves as feeling a call to ordination. By the time of the second Conference in Baltimore several years later, most of these women indicated that they did not intend to pursue ordination into the ministry as it was currently structured.

In his review of Reid's monograph, Robert J. Karris praises 'the many life-giving and liberative interpretations presented in this book' and offers several additional examples: 'Monastic authors were particularly attracted to the view of Mary and Martha as two contrasting but complementary, and not necessarily mutually exclusive, types of life or of people', and 'In a sermon which may be by Bernard (of Clairvaux) Martha was held up as a model for prelates'.[133] As we, women and men, struggle with our roles in today's church, perhaps it is good to be reminded that those early Christians struggled likewise, and despite their human weakness they succeeded in handing down a portrait of Jesus the Christ that still has power to attract, even while it is encumbered with nearly 2000 years of not only human frailty, but sometimes even perversion of the message of Jesus. The spirit of Jesus that raised up saints and prophets in the ancient church continues to call out to women and men today, and men and women continue to give their lives in answer to that call, often in the face of unspeakable evil.

133. Robert J. Karris, review of *Choosing the Better Part? Women in the Gospel of Luke*, by B.E. Reid [http://www.sbl-site.org/SBL/Reviews/reviews.html] 1 (1998), citations from Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 16 and 92.

# SISTERS IN ADVERSITY: RETELLING MARTHA'S STORY*

Loveday C. Alexander

> Martha, St. (Biblical). (Patroness of Cooks and Housewives.) (29th July). According to tradition, she was the means of converting her sister (see ST. MARY MAGDALENE) from her evil life, and is sometimes represented as leading her to CHRIST. She and Mary are symbolical respectively of active and contemplative life, or of female discretion and housewifery, as contrasted with frailty. A Provençal legend tells that while Martha was preaching near Aix, a dragon, who lived in the Rhone, devastated the country, but was overcome by her sprinkling holy water on him, bound with her girdle, and killed.
>
> She is represented, often in homely dress, with some household or cooking utensil, or bunch of keys; sometimes with a pot of holy water in her hand, and a dragon, bound, at her feet.[1]

When a mature student tells me, 'I've been Martha all my life—now it's my turn to be Mary', she is doing more than affirming the value of widening access to degree courses. She is using biblical stereotypes to tell the story of her own life (and because they are stereotypes which belong to a shared discourse-system, she can safely assume that I will understand her); and she is doing exegesis. In retelling the biblical story with herself as one (or rather two) of the characters, she is experiencing the text as part of her own world and exploring its significance for herself. This sort of exegesis, which I shall call here 'popular' exegesis, is a common phenomenon among churchgoing readers of the Bible, and more broadly (at least above a certain age range) among people who are not consciously either churchgoers or Bible readers, but who retain a sufficient stock of biblical memories from school or childhood to make

* I am fortunate to have had the opportunity to try out some of the ideas incorporated in this paper on a number of occasions during 1991. I am grateful to the colleagues in the Ehrhardt Seminar (University of Manchester), in the Sheffield Theological Society, and in the Theological Advisory Group of Chester Diocese for their comments and encouragement. Originally published in George J. Brooke (ed.), *Women in the Biblical Traditions* (Studies in Women and Religion, 31; Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), pp. 167-86. Reprinted by permission.

1. M.E. Tabor, *The Saints in Art* (London: Methuen, 1913), p. 80.

this kind of allusion natural. It is fed by 'popular' exposition: that is, by the ongoing process of preaching, teaching and retelling Bible stories that continues in churches, study groups and school classes, largely untouched by academic exegesis, and is probably still the widest source of biblical knowledge in this country. In this paper I will explore some aspects of this popular exegesis of the Martha and Mary story in Lk. 10.38-42, and ask what these particular stereotypes do for women. What messages do they hold for female expositors or auditors? What images of women's roles and characters within the Christian movement do they convey to male expositors or auditors?

## *A Tale of Two Women*

It is not difficult to read Lk. 10.38-42 as a story with a positive message for women. The only characters, apart from Jesus, are women. The two women are presented, if we focus on Luke and ignore John (as I intend to do in this paper), entirely without male encumbrances: no hint of a brother, much less a father or a husband, disturbs this autonomous female household. Martha seems to be the owner of the house (Lk. 10.38), and she and her sister are able to offer hospitality quite freely to Jesus (the disciples are not mentioned, although the plural verb of Lk. 10.38 implies that they are not far away). Even more significantly, we are told in Lk. 10.39, Mary 'sat at the Lord's feet and listened to his teaching'; the scene is generally assumed to imply the presence of other auditors (the male disciples?), although the text does not speak of them. Mary thus assumes the role of a disciple (what else, after all, does a disciple do?), and when this role is challenged, she finds herself decisively defended by Jesus himself: 'Mary has chosen the good portion, which shall not be taken away from her' (Lk. 10.42). The story can thus be read as a liberating text, in which Jesus affirms the right of a woman to abandon household chores and 'sit at his feet'. How this is translated into the auditor's own experience is a matter which the story leaves open: in a church context Mary's 'portion' can be identified as the right to be on a par with the male disciples, but it is often read much more broadly as a woman's right to pursue a career, to seek self-fulfillment, or simply (as we saw above) to study for a degree.

A closer examination, however, calls into question the liberating status of the tale. What message does the story convey to auditors who identify, from choice or necessity, with Martha? Mary is approved, certainly, but Mary is not the only woman in the story, and what is positive for one sister is correspondingly negative for the other. Mary's elevation is only achieved at the expense of Martha's humiliation. Mary crosses the

cultural boundary between female and male domains, and is praised for it, but what does this do for her sister? Jesus' final words, however we read the text,[2] implicitly denigrate Martha's activities. If Mary has chosen the 'good' portion, Martha's must be at least 'not good', if not downright 'bad'; if only 'one thing is needful' (v. 42), then by implication what Martha is doing is, perhaps even more devastatingly, unnecessary.

I cannot be the only female auditor who feels that this is, to say the least, unfair to Martha. She is engaged in a form of διακονία, service to Jesus, which is lauded elsewhere in the gospel: were the women of Lk. 8.2-3 also wasting their time and resources in an unnecessary and inferior form of service? At the most mundane level, this type of practical service was absolutely vital to Jesus' mission: how would the wandering charismatics and their leader, to borrow Theissen's phrase,[3] have survived without the hospitality of people like Martha? Where would Jesus have been if all his hosts had asserted their right, like Mary, to leave the dishes and sit at his feet? Told in this way, the story encapsulates an all-too-familiar double-think, whereby a dominant social group simultaneously assigns certain necessary but unpopular tasks to a helot class and denigrates their importance. Male preachers, in my own experience, rarely avoid falling into this patriarchal trap. Martha was 'fussing', they say, looking down from the pulpit on to their predominantly female audience, about unnecessary female concerns: 'and we all know', they add, before going home to their well-cooked Sunday dinners, 'how women do fuss'.

Not only does Martha 'fuss': even worse, she nags. She interrupts male conversation; she argues with Jesus; she asserts the value of her own sphere of activity and demands help. As E. Moltmann-Wendel has pointed out, the traditional (i.e. male) exegetical preference for Mary must be treated by feminists with a good deal of suspicion. What is it about Mary that makes her a 'good' character in the exegetical tradition? She is pliable (to the only male character in the story, not to her sister); she listens, she is attentive to her (male) guest. 'In Peter Ketter's phrase, she is "a quiet, tranquil soul", who is dear to the heart of preaching

2. Papyrus evidence on Lk.10.42 supports ἑνὸς δέ ἐστιν χρεία against ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία ἢ ἑνος, which looks like a conflated reading. Mary's choice is described as 'the good part', but it is not unreasonable to translate this as 'the better part', given the gradual obscuring of comparative and superlative forms in the *Koine*. See on this J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke X–XXIV* (AB, 28A; New York: Doubleday, 1985), p. 894. See further J.L. North, 'oligon de estin chreiaehenos (Luke 10.42): Text, Subtext, and Context', *JSNT* 66 (1997), pp. 3-13.

3. G. Theissen, *The First Followers of Jesus: A Sociological Analysis of Earliest Christianity* (London: SCM Press, 1987).

theologians, in complete contrast to the self-confident and eloquent Martha'—and thus her story provides the lesson that

> every housewife...according to Christ's will...must...be more to her husband than a mere housekeeper... Sometimes she must rest from work, sit down and listen patiently and caringly to her children or her husband, when they want to discuss their joys or their pains with her.[4]

Martha, by contrast, is independent, feisty, argumentative, busy with her own world of work and refusing to subordinate it to male demands for attention. Not unnaturally, many traditional portrayals have seen these as negative characteristics: Martha appears at the kitchen door brandishing a frying-pan, doing her best to distract her sister from her true spiritual destiny. Even their virtues are different: Martha is 'practical, competent, down-to-earth', while Mary is

> quiet, restrained, a good listener, always receptive to others. If we are honest, Martha is presented to us as being useful and necessary. But, when it comes to a model, a comfort or an ideal, it's Mary all the time.[5]

Is it only the traditional predominance of male preachers in the church that has perpetuated this kind of stereotyping? Unfortunately, Martha fares little better when the story is told from a feminist perspective. The Martha I have just described sounds like an admirable feminist model, and is so identified by Moltmann-Wendel; but generally speaking, in feminist exegesis it is still Mary who scoops the prizes. Mary is praised for refusing to conform to the cultural stereotype, for not accepting the traditional role assigned to women in her society. But how does she achieve this breakthrough? Not by challenging the patriarchal denigration of 'women's work', but by accepting it: she can only achieve her own liberation by joining the men. It is a classic feminist dilemma, strikingly anticipated in a parallel story told at the end of the *Gospel of Thomas*. Here Mary's place among the disciples is challenged not by Martha but by Peter:

> Simon Peter said to them, 'Let Mary leave us, for women are not worthy of life'. Jesus said, 'I myself shall lead her in order to make her male, so that she too may become a living spirit resembling you males. For every woman who will make herself male will enter the Kingdom of Heaven' (*Gos. Thom.* 114).

Read as a narrative about male and female roles, this is a revealing pericope. The scene is one familiar from the literature of childhood, and

4. E. Moltmann-Wendel, *The Women Around Jesus* (London: SCM Press, 1982), pp. 54, 52, referring to Peter Ketter, *Christ and Womankind* (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1952).

5. Moltmann-Wendel, *The Women Around Jesus*, p. 19.

can be recognized even further back in the medieval tales of Robin Hood. Peter and the boys are having a great time, leaving their homes (and wives and/or mothers) behind, living like the birds of the air and the lilies of the field.[6] it may be tough, but it's a man's life. Allowing Mary to join the group would spoil everything: 'Go on, tell her', Peter pleads: 'no girls allowed in our gang'. Jesus' answer is deeply ambivalent: Mary can join the group, but at a price. Like the tomboys of Enid Blyton, or like her namesake Maid Marian, she is only acceptable because she is 'as good as a boy'.[7] The damaging cultural stereotypes remain securely in place.

Luke's story is not Thomas's, and there is no evidence that the two are related. Nonetheless the *Gospel of Thomas* story does give us an early instance of reflection on the traditional figure of Mary as the prototype female disciple, and, I think, demonstrates its limitations. Neither story does much to advance the cause of women in general: arguably, both perpetuate entrenched patriarchal perceptions of male and female roles and characteristics. In the *Gospel of Thomas*, this is signaled by Jesus' tacit acceptance of Peter's premise that discipleship is properly a male activity; in Luke, it is the treatment of Martha that causes the problem. The story is normally told in terms of a polarity between the two sisters, which we might express schematically thus:

| *Mary* | *Martha* |
|---|---|
| sits at Jesus' feet | welcomes: serves |
| listens to Jesus' words | distracted: careful and troubled |
| one thing | many things |
| needful | [unnecessary] |
| —VINDICATED | —REBUKED |
| listening—discipleship | working in kitchen |
| join male disciples | WOMEN'S WORK |
| [male attitudes: no fuss] | 'fussing' |
| pliable, acquiescent | independent, initiates action |
| attentive to male guest | busy with WOMEN'S WORK |
| good listener. | argumentative, 'nagging'. |

If Mary is the 'good' sister, then Martha is clearly 'bad'. Any attempt to insist that there are good things about Martha (that independence and a sense of self-worth are good qualities for a woman; that 'women's work', rather than being denigrated, should be recognized as a valuable and

6. Theissen, *First Followers*, pp. 13-14.

7. E. Pagels, *The Gnostic Gospels* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982), pp. 72, 86-87.

essential contribution to the community) founders on the structure of the story itself, in which Jesus approves Mary and reproves Martha.

It may be objected that the readings I have outlined here are simplistic. They are, of course; but in the history of oppression, simplistic views do as much damage as sophisticated ones, perhaps more. The problem is that the popular expositions of this story, whether male or female, propel us straight into an exegetical trap. In affirming Mary's rights to pursue her own destiny, to leave the world of domestic tasks, we simultaneously condemn Martha to second-class status. Clearly the story has liberating potential for those who can identify with Mary, like the student with whom this paper began. Identifying with Martha is more difficult, simply because she is perceived at the negative pole of the story; but for those who identify themselves (or are identified by others) as fulfilling 'Martha' roles or bearing 'Martha' characteristics, the story carries an equivalent potential to oppress. The point is illustrated neatly by a contrary example: in the early 1990s Melissa Benn noted the positive effect of the 'outing' of motherhood in the life of the British Member of Parliament Harriet Harman:

> Talk to a cross-section of youngish women, particularly those with small children, and the chances are they will say: 'Oh, Harriet Harman—I *like* her!' For a generation of women, touched by feminism but excluded by many of its genres (the single childless woman, the career woman who is a closet mother), Harman gives expression to undervalued experiences and difficulties.[8]

If Harman's (real-life) 'story' had positive value for this group, the treatment of Martha in the biblical story is negative in precisely the same way. Women as a group simply cannot afford to buy in to the traditional male devaluation of 'women's work' as inferior or unnecessary, much less to despise the women who (from choice or necessity) spend their time in doing it. What Martha needs is practical help (why didn't Jesus tell Peter and John to fill Mary's tasks?); at the exegetical level, she needs affirmation. Is there any way the story can be read so that it is not oppressive for Martha?

## *A Tale of Two Lifestyles*

A brief glance at the exegetical tradition suggests that the problem goes a long way back. The medieval church saw the sisters not as two women but as types of two aspects of the spiritual life, the active and the contemplative. For Calvin, this was clearly an exegetical travesty:

8. *The Guardian*, 13 May 1992.

> Now this passage has been wickedly perverted to commend what is called the contemplative life. But if we aim at bringing out the genuine sense, it will appear that Christ was far from intending that His disciples should devote themselves to idle and frigid speculations.[9]

Once again the problem is that the polarity created by the story requires us to choose Mary (commended by Jesus) over Martha (reproved by Jesus). Everything that the story says about Mary's activity ('one thing needful'; 'good portion') is by implication true of the 'contemplative life', and everything it implies about Martha's activity (unnecessary; not-so-good portion) must equally be true of the 'active life', whether that be defined as the administrative, pastoral and charitable work that might form part of the duties of a cleric or religious, or as secular work (men's and women's) in general.[10] Calvin's dilemma is that for him the world of work represented by Martha is clearly a good thing, ordained by God: 'But we know that men were created to busy themselves with labour and that no sacrifice is more pleasing to God than when each one attends to his calling and studies to live well for the common good'. If that is the case, then Martha (reproved by Jesus) cannot represent 'work' (approved by God); the story must be read in some other way.

Calvin was not the first to find that the Martha–Mary typology conflicted with his own convictions about the value of work. Meister Eckhart, in a striking example of 'reading against the grain', does not question the allegorical foundation of the traditional exegesis. His solution is to reverse the polarity so that Martha, not Mary, emerges as the favored sister:

> Martha, being firmly established in virtue, open-minded, not hindered by things, wanted her sister to be like her, for she realised her insecurity. She had the highest motives, wishing her all that pertains to eternal felicity... Martha feared that her sister would stay dallying with pleasure and sweetness, so Christ says in effect: All is well, Martha, she has chosen the

9. Calvin, *A Harmony of the Gospels Matthew, Mark and Luke* (trans. T.H.L. Parker; Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1972), II, pp. 89-90.

10. It is clearly taken in the latter sense by Calvin, and also in the 'Treatise written to a devout man of secular estate, teaching him how to lead a spiritual life therein', which appears in the 1659 edition of Walter Hilton, *The Scale (or Ladder) of Perfection* (ed. J.B. Dalgairns; London: Art & Book Co., 1901). See further, R.C. Petry (ed.), *Late Medieval Mysticism* (LCC, 13; London: SCM Press, 1957), pp. 25, 53, 209. The tradition is surveyed by B.R. Heffner, 'Meister Eckhart and a Millenium with Mary and Martha', in M.S. Burrows and P. Rorem (eds.), *Biblical Hermeneutics in Historical Perspective: Studies in Honor of Karlfried Froelich on His Sixtieth Birthday* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), pp. 117-30.

> best part, this will pass. The best that can befall creatures lies in store for her: she shall be blessed like thee.[11]

Why does he have to do this? Partly at least because, like Calvin, he holds a prior conviction, which is not derived from the text but simply stated as an axiom, about the spiritual value of work: 'Means are twofold. One, without which I cannot get into God, is work, vocation, or calling in time, which interferes not one whit with eternal salvation.[12]

Eckhart's retelling of the story is playful and deliberately paradoxical; it is highly allegorical, but also draws on unnoticed details in the text to subvert the traditional reading.[13] Calvin, by contrast, coming at the very end of this exegetical tradition, calls for a rejection of allegory and a return to the 'simple sense' of the text. What the two have in common is that both resort to exegetical tactics to extricate themselves from the impasse into which the story has forced them. If they accept the polarities of the tale they are compelled to condemn something which independent moral judgment tells them is admirable: but they cannot simply abandon the text, so it must be re-interpreted.

### *Recovery or Resistance?*

A number of writers in recent years have drawn our attention to the hermeneutical problems created when a sacred text accepted as authoritative is perceived to be in conflict with the moral or political sensibilities of its readers.[14] The problem is often identified in conjunction with feminist hermeneutics, but, as we have seen in this instance, it is not unique to feminists: in fact, as all students of intertestamental and rabbinic literature know well, the impulse to re-interpret a sacred text in line with the

11. Meister Eckhart, 'A Sermon on the Contemplative and the Active Life', in Petry (ed.), *Late Medieval Mysticism*, pp. 193-99, esp. p. 197.

12. Eckhart, 'A Sermon on the Contemplative and the Active Life', p. 195.

13. E.g. ('A Sermon on the Contemplative and the Active Life', pp. 194-95) the observation that Christ names (i.e. calls) Martha twice elicits two comments: first, that 'there never was nor ever shall be lost a single soul whom Christ has ever named by human mouth in the eternal Word' (backed by biblical examples); and second, that as a doublet the naming has double significance, once for this world and once for the eternal world (a principle which is also found in rabbinic exegesis).

14. E.g. E. Pagels, 'Paul and Women: A Response to Recent Discussion', *JAAR* 42 (1974), pp. 538-49 (esp. p. 547); D.J.A. Clines, *What Does Eve Do To Help?: And Other Readerly Questions to the Old Testament* (JSOTSup 94; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), pp. 25-48 (esp. pp. 45-48); F. Watson, 'Strategies of Recovery and Resistance: Hermeneutical Reflections on Genesis 1–3 and its Pauline Reception', *JSNT* 45 (1992), pp. 79-103; and cf. S. Durber's 'The Female Reader and the Parables of the Lost', *JSNT* 45 (1992), pp. 59-78.

reader's convictions is as old as the concept of a sacred text itself.[15] Feminist criticism is perhaps unusual, however, (or at least characteristically modern) in its willingness to abandon texts that are beyond hope of recovery. In Francis Watson's words, one cannot always maintain 'the integrity of the text' at the expense of 'the integrity of commitments outside and beyond the text'. Sometimes one has to regard the text itself as part of the problem:

> What is now concealed is the sinister fact that the original itself is the source of oppression... Here there can be no possibility of the mediating solution of a revisionary reading which prises the text out of the clutches of its interpreters and brings to light the emancipatory potential that they had concealed...the only solution appears to be an exodus out of the social space in which the text's sanctity and innocence are solemnly maintained.[16]

The problem for many exegetes is not whether such occasions exist but how one is to identify them. For as Watson rightly insists, it would be extreme to adopt the 'exodus' solution in every case where a biblical text is problematic. This is the question we now have to resolve in the case of the Martha and Mary story. Can we follow the example of Calvin and Eckhart and 'recover' the text from a history of misinterpretation, perhaps even learning from their exegetical strategies? Or should we conclude that the popular exegesis is right, and that the story will remain liberating only for Mary? Can we rescue Martha without doing violence to the integrity of the text? I would like to argue that we can, or at least that the attempt is worth making; how far it succeeds must be left to the reader to judge. We can only do this, however, in a manner consonant with our own critical principles: attractive as it is to explore the exegesis of an earlier era, ultimately I have to find a strategy that will satisfy my own 'integrity' as a twentieth-century critical reader as well as the 'integrity' of the text.

### *Rescuing Martha*

The critical principle that seems most apposite here is that of attentiveness. As exegetes, we are learning to pay close attention to the text itself. We are also becoming more aware of the need to pay attention to the discourse of its co-texts, which means in this case, first, the Gospel of

15. Cf. P.S. Alexander, 'The Fall into Knowledge: The Garden of Eden/Paradise in Gnostic Literature', in P. Morris and D. Sawyer (eds.), *A Walk in the Garden: Biblical, Iconographical and Literary Images of Eden* (JSOTSup, 136; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), pp. 91-104 (esp. pp. 102-103).

16. Watson, 'Strategies of Recovery and Resistance', p. 81.

Luke and, secondly, gospel discourse in general. In the final part of this essay I shall examine two broad assumptions that underlie the exegesis of the text, and then go on to note a number of exegetical clues in the text itself which might help us to reassess Martha's role in the story.

*Whose Story?*

To tell this story as liberating is to concentrate on Mary's tale at the expense of Martha's. The exegetical tradition, however, both in the Middle Ages and in today's popular exposition, tends to assume that this is a story about two sisters, one approved and one reproved. The whole force of the traditional tale rests, as I have argued above, on maintaining a polarity between the two: whether women or lifestyles, we are offered a duality and expected to choose between them. But a closer attention to transitivity patterns within the text reveals that in fact the tale is Martha's much more than it is Mary's. There is no syntactical pairing corresponding to the ideological duality in the minds of exegetes. Martha is the subject of three finite verbs in main clauses in the narrative, with one participle, as against Jesus' score of two plus one. The two verbs describing Mary's activity in Lk. 10.39 are grammatically subordinated to the main clause of this verse, which uses an impersonal idiom to describe the relationship between the sisters: 'there was to her a sister', which the RSV and other English versions correctly render 'she [i.e. Martha] had a sister'. In direct speech, Martha is the subject of an infinitive in her own request in v. 40, and of two main verbs in Jesus' reply (10.41); Mary gets one finite verb in Martha's speech (subordinated to the impersonal οὐ μέλει σοι ὅτι...) 'does it not concern you that..., and one in Jesus' reply. The two other clauses ostensibly relating to Mary in 10.42 use impersonal verbs. These patterns serve to foreground Martha as the active partner with Jesus in the scene. Mary is a background character, of whom we are told (in a relative clause) only the bare minimum necessary to explain the dialogue that forms the culmination of the scene. Within that dialogue, Martha is allowed almost as many words as Jesus, and is accorded the unique distinction of being named by Jesus twice (10.41)—a point noted by Eckhart. What we have, then, is not a three-cornered scene but, as so often in the gospels, a dialogue between two characters, Jesus and Martha; Mary's actions provoke the dialogue, but she does not herself speak or appear on stage.

*Paradigm or Paradox?*

Calvin draws attention to an exegetical assumption which has persisted in limiting the ways this story is told well beyond the confines of the medieval allegory that he is seeking to undermine: 'The simple sense

shows easily how ignorantly they misused Christ's words to prove their invention. Luke says that Mary took her station at Jesus' feet. Does this mean that she was doing this the whole of her life?'[17] The allegorical approach to the story naturally moves from the particular (a single incident in Jesus' lifetime, involving specific, named characters) to the general (a generalizing rule about the value of one lifestyle over against another). Oddly, generations of exegetes who have been trained to avoid allegory like the plague in the interpretation of the parables continue to make this kind of generalization about Martha and Mary. Whatever the frame of reference (domesticity versus intellectual pursuits, secular versus spiritual, practical service versus contemplation), the two women are seen not as individuals but as types, cyphers from something intrinsically more interesting than the domestic problems of a harassed hostess. Calvin's *reductio ad absurdum* usefully reminds his readers that this is an assumption: the text tells us about a particular incident, but the interpretation has generalized this so that it becomes a paradigm for a lifestyle.

The same tendency to generalize leads to the related assumption that the apophthegm with which the story ends must be read as a general rule enunciated by Jesus establishing a permanent hierarchy of values as between one lifestyle and another. In fact Jesus' teaching in the gospels contains remarkably few general rules, and there is nothing to indicate that this is one (the persistence of the proper names in vv. 41-42 rather suggests the contrary). The story of the Good Samaritan, which immediately precedes this episode, suggests that the Lukan Jesus is more concerned with the reversal of existing value systems than with the setting up of new ones; and paradox plays an important part in this process, both in apophthegms and in parables (e.g. Lk. 14.26; 16.15; 17.33; 18.9-14, 27). Luke is particularly fond of stories (both parables and incidents in the primary narrative) that overturn the expectations of their auditors (e.g. Lk. 16.1-9; 17.11-19). They are intended to shock, not to lay down a code of Christian law. It seems at least worth asking whether there is an element of deliberate paradox in Jesus' reply to Martha, rather than treating it in a completely straightfaced fashion as a general rule for Christian (or female) behavior.

*'A certain woman' (Lk. 10.38).*

Luke tells us a number of interesting things about Martha. Is this the most significant? Is Martha's gender the major fact about her that we must bear in mind as we read this story? Popular exegesis has always tended to foreground gender in this story, taking it as a story which is

17. Calvin, *A Harmony of the Gospels Matthew, Mark, and Luke*, II, pp. 89-90.

'addressed to women' in a particular way. In conjunction with the generalizing tendency just mentioned, this makes it almost inevitable that the story is taken as 'about women *in general*', and that whatever is said to Martha in the dialogue is laid down as a general rule 'for women'. But what are the grounds for this (implicitly sexist) assumption?[18] Is it only in relation to female characters that gender becomes the all-important issue? In fact Luke has a habit of introducing his characters with the formula 'a certain man' (8.27), or 'behold a man [called]...' (5.12, 18; 8.41; 9.38; 19.2; 23.50); he uses the word ἀνήρ significantly more often than Matthew or Mark, frequently in contexts where it is redundant.[19] If gender is significant in this episode, it must be treated as equally significant in all the stories where Luke mentions it. It cannot be taken as uniquely significant for this story.

What we seem to be dealing with here is a general feature of Lukan narrative style which leaves open the question of narrative significance. Gospel stories, whether in the primary narrative or in parables, tend to use realistic characters and situations, and this means that, despite the economy of the narrative, there are elements in any gospel tale which serve simply as 'background' or scene-painting: thus, for example, the parable of the talents is not *about* capitalism (and certainly not an argument in its favor), but simply uses it as part of the realistic furniture of the tale. In similar vein, we could argue that Martha's story is not *about* women, or even primarily about Martha *as a woman:* her gender is simply part of the minimal background information which the narrator has to supply in order to explain the situation presupposed in the dialogue.

*Martha 'received him into her house' (Lk. 10.38)*

The scene is a dinner-party – a scene of hospitality. Luke is rather fond of these: Lk. 7.36-50; 11.37-52; 14.1-6, 7-11, 12-14, 15-24. A number of these contain an element of surprise and reversal, sometimes for hosts and sometimes for guests. Thus in ch. 14 the guests who make excuses are

18. This popular exegetical assumption should be distinguished from the feminist-critical strategy of foregrounding gender for specific ideological purposes. We are of course entitled as readers to focus on the gender issue if we want to, whether or not it was part of the agenda for the implied author or for earlier generations of readers. But we are equally entitled to ask, as exegetes, whether the foregrounding of gender is an appropriate strategy for understanding this particular text in its own terms and in this particular case the selective nature of the foregrounding renders it suspect.

19. E.g., at Lk. 5.12, where Luke has *'a man* full of leprosy' for Mark's 'a leper', or at Lk. 5.18, where Luke has 'behold *men* carrying' for Mark's 'they [subject unspecified] came carrying'.

rejected in favor of the unwanted outsiders (Lk. 14.15-24), whereas in ch. 7 it is the host, Simon the Pharisee, who is contrasted unfavorably with the 'woman who was a sinner' (Lk. 7.44-47). Chapter 14 also contains a section on 'advice to guests' which at the surface level gives little more than some rather canny advice on etiquette (Lk. 14.7-11); only the last verse gives the clue to the attentive reader of the gospel that the real subject of Jesus' teaching is the paradox of exaltation and humiliation (Lk. 14.11). Reading Martha's story alongside these co-texts suggests that here too we may be operating on two levels. On the surface, Martha is making a mistake common to hosts: she is in danger of getting so bogged down in the details of hospitality that she forgets the point of the whole exercise, which is to enjoy the company of your guest. This would be a mistake for any host, and with any guest; to that extent, the story, like Lk. 14.7-11, works as simply as a piece of advice on etiquette. When the guest is Jesus, however, the mistake assumes cosmic proportions: Martha is in danger of 'missing the point' which of all points must not be missed.

*Martha 'had a sister' (Lk. 10.39)*

In general the gospels contain significantly more about disputes between siblings than about any other kind of relationship: 'brothers' occur more often than 'friends', 'parents', 'husbands' or 'wives'. There is an obvious reason for this in terms of *Sitz im Leben:* relationships between brothers and sisters were of primary concern to the story's first interpretive community. But this should also alert us to look at how sibling rivalry is treated elsewhere in gospel discourse, especially in Luke. Is there a consistent pattern? What is Jesus' attitude to complaints about siblings? The attentive reader of Lk. 10 may well remember at this point the strong condemnation in Lk. 6.41-42 of noticing your brother's faults and ignoring your own. Is Martha reproved for behaving in this way toward her sister? Does the injunction against 'judging' (Lk. 6.37) have a particular force in the context of sibling disputes? It surfaces again in Lk. 12.13, a passage which David Gooding[20] rightly sees as a close parallel to Martha's story. Here an unnamed man 'from the crowd' asks Jesus to intervene on his behalf in a dispute with his brother, much as Martha asks Jesus to intervene with her sister. Jesus refuses to be cast in the role of 'judge', and shows no interest in the rights and wrongs of the case. We are reminded of another sibling, the 'elder brother' of Lk. 15.25-32. 'Is it fair?' seems to be the wrong question to ask in both cases. But the tone in which this brother is rebuked in Lk. 15.31-32 ('Son, you are always with

20. D. Gooding, *According to Luke* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1987), pp. 209-10.

me, and all that is mine is yours') may also encourage us to look for gentle reproof rather than outright rejection in Jesus' reply to Martha. Eckhart may not be so far off the beam after all.[21]

*Martha 'was distracted with much serving' (Lk. 10.40)*

Up to this stage in the narrative we are still concerned with scene-setting. The information we have been given about Martha (and about Mary in v. 39) is just enough to explain the background to the dialogue, but not enough yet to explain how Martha is at fault. Nothing that we have heard about her so far is negative – the information that she is a woman, and that she has a sister, must rank as neutral, and her hospitality towards Jesus surely counts as a positive point in her favor. The positive note continues in v. 40: Martha's problem is 'much serving', πολλὴν διακονίαν. It hardly needs to be underlined that διακονία, especially of Jesus, is a good thing in gospel discourse, and especially for Luke (e.g. 4.39; 8.3). Most significant is 22.24-27, where Jesus affirms his own role as διάκονος as a direct counter to the value systems of the world. Within the terms of this gospel, then, it is hard to construe v. 40 as negative. If it is Christ-like to serve, it is presumably even better to be engaged in 'much service'. Whatever Martha is doing wrong, it is surely not her διακονία.[22]

It may be worthwhile, therefore, to explore the possibility that Martha is presented to us, not as someone who clearly puts herself in the wrong, but as someone who by all that we have been led to expect is in the right. We have already observed that in other disputes between siblings, Jesus in this gospel shows himself remarkably unconcerned about who is in the right and who is in the wrong. The prodigal's elder brother is after all quite clearly a man who does everything right, yet he ends up wrong-footed by his profligate younger brother. The Pharisee of 18.9-14, like the ruler of 18.21, had kept all the commandments and more, yet it was the tax collector, the 'sinner', who 'went down to his house justified'.[23] A

21. Cf. also Lk. 17.3-4: the brother who repents is to be met with unlimited forgiveness. It is tempting to cite Jn 21.20-23 in this context as well. Even asking questions about a brother's spiritual destiny is forbidden: 'What is that to you? Follow me'. 'Mind your own [spiritual] business!' seems to be a principle of this community ethic.

22. The fact that Martha is also 'vexed', 'troubled', or 'distracted' (περιεσπᾶτο) may have negative implications: the use of ἀπερισπάστως in 1 Cor. 7.35 suggests that it did in some circles. But within the gospel the verb occurs nowhere else, and the reader of this text has been given no clue which would make this in and of itself a sufficient reason for rebuke. A second-century papyrus text speaks of being 'troubled' or 'vexed' by tax collectors (LSJ 1386b), but this is hardly grounds for moral censure.

23. For an illuminating discussion of the role of the 'sinner' in Luke's gospel see

similar reversal has already taken place in 7.36-50, where Simon the Pharisee (another host) is contrasted unfavorably with the 'woman who was a sinner'. Christian prejudice against the Pharisees has I think obscured the deliberately paradoxical nature of these stories. As with Martha, we search to find what the Pharisee has done wrong, rather than starting with the premise that he is actually presented (however caricatured) as the epitome of a man who does everything right. Thus the 'good' character in the story ends up rebuked, and the 'bad' character vindicated.

| *Bad* | *Good* |
|---|---|
| Woman (sinner) | Simon the Pharisee (host) |
| Mary (idle) | Martha (hostess) |
| Publican (sinner) | Pharisee (prays, fasts etc.) |
| VINDICATED | REBUKED |

Mary is not of course portrayed as 'bad' in Lk. 10.38-42, except in the sense that her behavior overturns accepted norms for a woman. In this sense, auditors might well be expected to side with Martha in her complaint against her sister (and still do). In the terms of gospel discourse, however, the story offers a choice between two 'good' types of behavior, listening to Jesus and serving him, and this is at the heart of the paradox. This factor is more clearly exhibited in the Johannine variant on the anointing woman, where Mary of Bethany becomes the anointer, and her antagonist is not Simon but Judas (Jn 12.1-7). In this variant Mary is not identified as a sinner (that has been left to the popular exegesis which conflates all three women). John is careful to explain that it is Judas who is 'bad' (Jn 12.4, 6); but it is noteworthy that the action with which Mary's gesture is compared (and which is the point of the dominical saying in v. 7) is something that in itself is 'good', namely, giving to the poor. In the same way, we might argue, the behavior of Luke's Mary is contrasted not with a 'bad' course of action but with one which is in itself 'good', namely, serving Jesus. Both stories highlight a rather Pauline paradox, that 'good' behavior is not as important as devotion (even extravagant and embarrassing devotion) to Jesus—and this pattern too may be detected elsewhere in Luke. Jesus' teaching ministry ends in this gospel with the story of the 'ruler' who discovers that keeping the commandments is not enough (18.18-23): the 'one thing' he lacks (compare

D.A. Neale, *'None but the Sinners': Religious Categories in the Gospel of Luke* (JSNTSup, 58; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), pp. 135-47 (on Lk. 7.36-50) and pp. 165-78 (on Lk. 18.9-14).

Mary's 'one thing needful') is the will to follow Jesus without counting the cost.

| *Jesus* | *Good behavior* |
|---|---|
| listening to Jesus | serving Jesus |
| anointing Jesus | concern for poor |
| following Jesus | keeping commandments |
| VINDICATED | REBUKED |

I say 'paradox' with intent: to treat these stories as paradigms for Christian behavior is to fall into the ancient error of ἀνομία: 'are we to continue in sin that grace may abound'? The fact that the sinner is justified is not a prescription for Christians to emulate the publican, either as tax-collector or as sinner; and by the same token, the revelation that Mary's 'bad behavior' is actually the 'one thing needful' is not a prescription for Christians to emulate her in abandoning practical service.

*'Martha, Martha, you are anxious and troubled about many things' (Lk. 10.41)*
It is only when Jesus begins to speak that we are given explicit clues about the nature of Martha's mistake. Martha is 'called' by Jesus in this verse, and the attentive reader of Luke's gospel should already know that being 'anxious' (μεριμνᾷς) is not a good thing for the would-be disciple. The interpretation of the parable of the sower in Lk. 8.9-15 issues dire warnings to those who allow 'the word of God' to become 'choked by the cares (μεριμνῶν) and riches and pleasures of this life' (Lk. 8.14): 'their fruit does not mature.' In Lk. 12.22-31 the warning against 'cares' is intensified: 'Which of you by being anxious (μεριμνῶν) can add a cubit to his span of life?' (Lk. 12.25)—a warning against worrying about food and drink which is embedded in a longer block of teaching on the dangers of riches as a distraction (Lk. 12.13-34). Mary's 'one thing needful' is echoed, as we have seen, in the ruler's 'one thing' is lacking in Lk. 18.22, which also picks up again the theme of 'treasure in heaven' (cf. Lk. 12.21, 33-34); but the theme of single-mindedness weaves in and out of Jesus' teaching in less explicit ways right through the central section of this gospel (cf. Lk. 9.57-62; 11.33-36; 12.30-31).

I have not set out to give an exhaustive exegesis of this passage, much less to lay down rules for a definitive exegesis. All I have tried to do is to suggest some strategies that may enable Martha's supporters (myself included) to tell her story in a way that does justice *both* to the need to affirm the value of 'Martha' activities and characteristics *and* to the need for critical sensitivity to the text. Not all these strategies will necessarily be found useful at once. If we think of the text as a dramatic script,

successive tellers of Martha's story may want to 'perform' it in one of a number of possible ways. A performance may be popular or academic, ecclesiastical or secular; but if it is to be convincing it must draw on the potential within the text in a way that is perceived to be appropriate to the kind of discourse it contains.

This is why it is important to pay attention to narrative details within the text and to the expectations aroused by the co-text. Transitivity patterns suggest that Martha's story really does belong to her, and not to her sister: it is the story of a hostess who 'misses the point' of her hospitable activity, and invites its auditors to see the implications of this in a situation where the guest—and the point—is Jesus himself. It is paradoxical rather than paradigmatic, deliberately overturning its auditors' expectations about 'good' and 'bad' behavior—which means that using the story to set up a new code of behavior is to repeat the mistake. It tells us a number of interesting things about Martha, of which the fact that she is a woman is probably the least significant in terms of the wider discourse: Martha is important as sister, as hostess, as servant of Christ, as disciple. But for twentieth-century readers to whom the issue of gender has assumed a new vitality, there is also significance in the fact that Martha (and her sister) are women. None of the themes that we have traced in the story are uniquely 'women's business'. Their outworking may differ between men and women, just as the background furniture of this story is different from that of the stories with male characters—but the themes themselves all relate to the common experience of discipleship. The simple fact that Luke chooses to make these points by telling a story about two women makes it impossible to maintain that discipleship is men's business only (Luke will go out of his way in Acts 9.1-2 to stress that 'the disciples of the Lord' who 'belong to the way' include 'both men and women'). To insist that this is a story 'about women' is to risk confining it to the ghetto: 'women's stories', notoriously, are felt to have nothing to teach men. In medieval legend Martha is depicted both as a preacher (to men and women alike) and as a dragon-slayer, a female counterpart to the more familiar St George.[24] In spite of—or perhaps because of—her strength in traditional women's roles, she refuses to be limited by them. Her story should not be restricted by them either.

24. Tabor, *The Saints in Art*, p. 80; and further, Moltmann-Wendel, *The Women Around Jesus*, pp. 39-48.

# Getting Martha out of the Kitchen: Luke 10.38-42 Again*

Warren Carter

Contemporary Lukan scholarship is divided in its assessment of the presentation of women in Luke–Acts.[1] Is Luke an oppressor or liberator? Must the audience read with or against the text? One way ahead in the current impasse is a re-evaluation of the sections of the Lukan narrative from which these larger conclusions arise. In this paper I shall re-examine the story of Martha and Mary. My argument is that the pericope is not primarily concerned with the need for busy Christian people to be hospitable,[2] or with the superiority of liturgical over diaconal ministry,[3] or with Jesus' blessing on the education of women,[4] or with rendering women in leadership and ministry roles invisible.[5] Rather, by building

* Originally published in *CBQ* 58 (1996), pp. 264-80. Reprinted by permission.

1. See R.J. Karris, 'Women and Discipleship in Luke', *CBQ* 56 (1994), pp. 1-20 (reprinted in this volume, pp. 23-43); J. Schaberg, 'Luke', in C. Newsom and S. Ringe (eds.), *The Women's Bible Commentary* (London: SPCK; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), pp. 275-304 (pp. 278-82, 288-89); Mary Rose D'Angelo, 'Women Partners in the New Testament', *JFSR* 6 (1990), pp. 65-86; *eadem*, 'Women in Luke–Acts: A Redactional View', *JBL* 109 (1990), pp. 441-61; Jane Kopas, 'Jesus and Women: Luke's Gospel', *TTod* 43 (1986), pp. 192-202; Rosalie Ryan, 'The Women from Galilee and Discipleship in Luke', *BTB* 15 (1985), pp. 56-59; Ben Witherington III, 'On the Road with Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Susanna, and Other Disciples – Luke 8.1-3', *ZNW* 70 (1979), pp. 243-48 (reprinted in this volume, pp. 133-39).

2. L. Jones, 'The Virtues of Hospitality', *Christian Century* 109 (1992), p. 609.

3. B. Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity* (trans. E.J. Sharpe; ASNU, 22; Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1961), pp. 239-45; B. Reicke 'Instruction and Discussion in the Travel Narrative', *SE* 1 (TU 73), pp. 206-16 (esp. pp. 212-13).

4. Ben Witherington III, *Women in the Ministry of Jesus: A Study of Jesus' Attitudes to Women and Their Roles as Reflected in His Early Life* (SNTSMS, 51; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 101; R.J. Weems, *Just a Sister Away: A Womanist Vision of Women's Relationships in the Bible* (San Diego, CA: LuraMedia, 1988), pp. 39-50 (esp. pp. 44-48); Schaberg, 'Luke', pp. 288-89.

5. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, 'A Feminist Critical Interpretation for Liberation: Martha and Mary (Lk. 10.38-42)', *Religion and Intellectual Life* 3 (1986), pp. 21-36 (esp. p. 32); *eadem*, 'Theological Criteria and Historical Reconstruction: Martha and Mary:

on Mary Rose D'Angelo's argument that Mary and Martha form one of several missionary 'women partners' in the New Testament,[6] and by attending to the context of the pericope in its larger narrative and to the words selected for telling the story, I claim that the pericope not only evidences the women's leadership but also instructs the gospel's readers and hearers about important aspects of the task of leadership and ministry. That two women supply the focus is not insignificant for the larger agenda of evaluating Luke's presentation of women.

## I

Though the story is conventionally described as the story of Martha and Mary, Martha receives more attention than Mary does.[7] The opening verse names her and presents her as the subject of the action of 'receiving' Jesus, 'into her house' (in some manuscripts); Lk. 10.39 defines Mary in relation to her as 'sister'; Lk. 10.40 divulges her internal frame of mind ('distracted'); her question to Jesus determines the rest of the scene; Lk. 10.41-42 underline her situation through Jesus' address and the comparison with Mary. This focus, though, as Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza has convincingly demonstrated, does not legitimate a polarization of the two women.[8] Mary plays an integral part through her designation 'sister', her role in Lk. 10.39, and the perplexing comparison in Lk. 10.42. Any interpretation of the scene must account for both women characters.

The nature and significance of Martha's action in Lk. 10.38 have received little investigation. Conventional analyses see Martha as the harried hostess performing her kitchen duties without help from Mary. Several indicators in the context and in the presentation of the scene

Luke 10.38-42', in H. Waetjen (ed.), *Protocol of the Colloquy of the Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture*, 53 (Berkeley, CA: Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture, 1987), pp. 1-12. The seven responses (pp. 13-38) and the discussion (pp. 41-63) which follow address both Fiorenza's larger agenda and aspects of her interpretation of the story of Martha and Mary; E. Schüssler Fiorenza, *But She Said: Feminist Practices of Biblical Interpretation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), pp. 52-76. Earlier, E.M. Tetlow (*Women and Ministry in the New Testament* [New York: Paulist Press, 1980], p. 104) proposed a similar analysis. See also Schaberg, 'Luke', pp. 278-82, 288-89.

6. D'Angelo, 'Women Partners', pp. 77-81.

7. Loveday Alexander, 'Sisters in Adversity: Retelling Martha's Story', in G.J. Brooke (ed.), *Women in the Biblical Tradition* (Studies in Women and Religion, 31; Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), pp. 167-86 (esp. pp. 177-78) (reprinted in this volume, pp. 197-213).

8. See Fiorenza, 'Feminist Critical Interpretation', pp. 21-36.

indicate this to be an unlikely reading which misconstrues the whole pericope.

The scene occurs in the context of Luke's travel narrative.[9] While interpreters have seen the pericope contributing to the travel narrative's general instruction about discipleship (hearing the word,[10] loving God[11]), they have paid little attention to the specific interaction between this context and the story.[12] This neglect is surprising, since Lk. 10.38

9. The literature on the travel narrative is extensive. For discussion and bibliography, see the commentaries; also W. Grundmann, 'Fragen der Komposition des lukanischen "Reiseberichts"', *ZNW* 50 (1959), pp. 252-70; J.L. Resseguie, 'Interpretation of Luke's Central Section (Luke 9.51–19.44) since 1856', *Studia biblica et theologica* 6 (1975), pp. 3-36; C.L. Blomberg, 'Midrash, Chiasmus and the Outline of Luke's Central Section', in R.T. France and D. Wenham (eds.), *Studies in Midrash and Historiography* (Gospel Perspectives, 3; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), pp. 217-61; D.R. Moessner, *Lord of the Banquet: The Literary and Theological Significance of the Lukan Travel Narrative* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989).

10. So M.J. Lagrange, *Evangile selon saint Luc* (EBib; Paris: J. Gabalda, 8th edn. 1948), p. 316; G.B. Caird, *The Gospel of Saint Luke* (Westminster Pelican Commentaries; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964), p. 149; E.E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke* (NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974 [1966]), pp. 161-62; I.H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke* (NIGTC, 3; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), pp. 439, 451; E. Stagg and F. Stagg, *Woman in the World of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1978), p. 225; J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I–IX* (AB, 28; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), p. 826; E. Schweizer, *The Good News according to Luke* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1984), p. 167; R.C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke–Acts* (2 vols.; FFNT; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986-90), I, pp. 136-37; J. Brutscheck, *Die Maria–Marta-Erzählung: Eine redaktionkritische Untersuchung zu Lk 10.38-42* (BBB, 64; Frankfurt: Peter Hanstein, 1986), pp. 30-132 (esp. pp. 50-64); F. Craddock, *Luke* (IBC; Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1990), pp. 151-52.

11. Some see a connection with the first commandment after discussion of the second in 10.25-37; so E. Klostermann, *Das Lukasevangelium* (HNT, 5; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1929), p. 122; W. Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (THKNT; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1966), p. 225; F.W. Danker, *Jesus and the New Age* (St Louis: Clayton, 1972), p. 133; C.H. Talbert. *Reading Luke: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Third Gospel* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), p. 120.

12. J.A. Fitzmyer *(The Gospel According to Luke X–XXIV* [AB, 28A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985], p. 891) declares the story unrelated to the preceding passages. He does concede, though, that with A. Plummer (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke* [ICC, 28; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906], p. 290) it is possible to see it as another way of inheriting eternal life (v. 25). Tannehill (*Narrative Unity*, I, pp. 132-39) discusses the story as part of a thematic consideration of Jesus' ministry to the oppressed and excluded, but he does not consider it in his discussion of 9.51–12.53 (*Narrative Unity*, I, pp. 228-53). Exceptions, who have paid attention to the interaction between the story and the travel narrative as a whole, are Moessner, *Lord of the Banquet*, p. 144; Brutscheck, *Die Maria–Marta-Erzählung*, pp. 50-64; D. Gill, 'Observations on the Lukan Travel Narrative and Some Related Passages',

signals the connection through its use of vocabulary prominent in the opening scene of the travel narrative: πορεύομαι, 'go',[13] εἰσέρχομαι, 'enter' (Lk. 9.52; 10.38), and κώμη, 'village' (Lk. 9.52, 56; 10.38b).

The references in Lk. 10.38 to Jesus entering the village (εἰσῆλθεν) and being received by Martha (ὑπεδέχατο αὐτόν) particularly recall aspects of the mission of the Seventy from earlier in ch. 10 (Lk. 10.1-20; cf. the Twelve in Lk. 9.1-5). Jesus instructs them about entering a house or town (Lk. 10.5, 7, 8, 10; cf. 9.4-5) and locating someone to 'receive' them (10.8, 10; 9.5). Being received involves much more than being supplied with food and drink;[14] it primarily denotes the embracing of the disciples' mission and its eschatological reality. As D. Moessner argues, Lk. 10.5-10 concerns the meal fellowship of the reign of God in which the presence of the Lord of the banquet is revealed through these ambassadors.[15]

The positioning of the story of Mary and Martha at the end of ch. 10 and the use of this significant vocabulary in Lk. 10.38 point to a close connection between this scene and the rest of ch. 10. Martha appears in Lk. 10.38 as an embodiment of the positive responses named through ch. 10. In *receiving* Jesus, Martha is a child of peace (Lk. 10.6) who has encountered God's reign (Lk. 10.9).[16] She is not subject to the curses and eschatological warnings of Lk. 10.12-15. She has 'heard' Jesus, not rejecting but accepting the one who sent him (Lk. 10.16); she has 'seen'

*HTR* 63 (1970), pp. 199-221 (esp. pp. 205-206). R. Wall ('Martha and Mary [Luke 10.38-42] in the Context of a Christian Deuteronomy', *JSNT* 35 [1989], pp. 19-35) sees Deuteronomy, especially chs. 5–8, supplying the connection with the previous pericopes.

13. See 9.51, 52, 53, 56, 57; 10.37. The verb appears in 13.22, 33 in association with Jesus' teaching and as a summary of Jesus' mission of life and death. Gill's claim ('Observations', p. 201) that πορεύομαι is a *terminus technicus* for 'Jesus' progress toward Jerusalem' seems overstated. It would be more accurate to say that this is one possible meaning among others.

14. So Ellis, *Gospel of Luke*, p. 162; Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, p. 451; Fitzmyer, *Gospel according to Luke X–XXIV*, p. 893. E. Laland ('Die Martha–Maria Perikope Lukas 10.38-42', *ST* 13 [1959], pp. 70-85) emphasizes the pericope's instruction about extending hospitality to itinerant missionaries.

15. Moessner, *Lord of the Banquet*, pp. 132--43. For consideration of the significance of food in Luke, see R.J. Karris, *Luke, Artist and Theologian: Luke's Passion Account as Literature* (Theological Inquiries; New York: Paulist Press, 1985), pp. 47-78; J. Koenig, *New Testament Hospitality: Partnership with Strangers as Promise and Mission* (OBT, 17; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), pp. 15-51, 85-123.

16. W. Klassen ('"A Child of Peace" [Luke 10.6] in First Century Context', *NTS* 27 [1980], pp. 488-506 [esp. pp. 500-503]) emphasizes the key relationship in Luke between this term and 'the irruption of the Kingdom of God' (p. 502).

God's revelation (Lk. 10.21-25). She is among the blessed disciples who 'see and hear' (Lk. 10.23-24); she inherits eternal life (Lk. 10.25).

That Martha's *receiving* Jesus signifies embracing his eschatological mission is also evident from the six uses of δέχομαι, 'receive', prior to ch. 10 (Lk. 2.28; 8.13; 9.48 [4 ×]).[17] The verb expresses openness to the word and work of God.[18] Martha's *receiving* Jesus signifies her commitment to Jesus mission and to the God who sent him (cf. Lk. 9.48). She appears as a model disciple in contrast to those in the previous verses who do not receive Jesus' messenger (Lk. 9.52-53; 10.10).

Moreover, what is appropriate to Martha at this point is shown in Lk. 10.39 to be applicable also to Mary. She is presented as 'listening' to Jesus' teaching. The verb used to denote her listening (ἤκουεν, 10.39) appears in Lk. 10.16 as an antonym for 'rejecting' the disciples, Jesus, and God, and hence, as a synonym for 'receiving' them. It also appears in Lk. 10.23-24 in Jesus' blessing of disciples who 'see' and 'hear'. Earlier, it describes the desired response to Jesus and his teaching (Lk. 8.8, 15, 21; 9.35). Mary, like Martha, is among those who receive Jesus. This response suggests that the term 'sister' points beyond a relation of kinship with Martha to denote their joint participation in the community of the disciples of Jesus.[19]

## II

In Lk. 10.40 the attention reverts to Martha, who is described as 'distracted with much serving'. The verb indicates being pulled away or diverted from a task.[20] Most interpreters assume Martha to be preoccupied with her kitchen tasks,[21] as befits her patriarchal context.[22] Several

17. In addition to 9.5, and 10.8, 10 which have been considered; and 9.48, which is discussed below.

18. The same emphasis continues in the subsequent uses of δέχομαι (16.4, 6, 7, 9; 18.17; 22.17) and ὑποδέχομαι (19.6). Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, I, pp. 235-36, does not recognize this diversity.

19. See the discussion by H. von Soden, *TDNT*, I, pp. 144-46, the lexica entries, and D'Angelo, 'Women Partners', pp. 77-81. Apart from Lk. 10.39, 40, the noun ἀδελφή appears twice in Luke–Acts with its literal meaning (Lk. 14.26; Acts 23.16). Through the narrative, the audience encounters the noun referring variously to relatives (Lk. 20.28-29; Acts 12.2), people of one's own race (Acts 7.2), males (Acts 7.26; 9.17), and the Christian community in contexts which probably include women (Acts 1.15; 11.29; 15.3; 16.2, 40; 21.7).

20. BAGD, *s.v.* περισπάω. The verb is a *hapax legomenon* in the New Testament.

21. Most commentators assume this meaning. As a partial exception, Witherington (*Women in the Ministry of Jesus*, p. 67 n. 125, p. 101 n. 136) raises a question in relation to Jewish norms but affirms Martha's domestic role. For the division public world/

factors, however, point to a more likely interpretation. We have noted the important connections between the pericope and the larger context of the gospel. Luke 10.38-39 highlights Martha's embracing Jesus' eschatological mission and participating in the community of the disciples of Jesus. Given this context, it is more likely that her distraction 'with much serving' pertains to this mission and community and to her particular role in them.

As one step toward clarifying this role, we can observe the use of the διακον words, especially διακονία, 'serving' (Lk. 10.40), in the cultural context of the gospel's audience. As J.N. Collins has demonstrated, the words were not common,[23] and, contrary to the oft-repeated tradition in contemporary scholarship, they do not primarily designate the menial task of waiting at tables.[24] Rather, they denote 'activity of an in-between

private world, see B. Malina and R.L. Rohrbaugh, *Social Science Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), pp. 348-49.

22. G. Lerner (*The Creation of Patriarchy* [Women and History, 1; New York: Oxford University Press, 1986], p. 237) defines patriarchy as 'the manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over women and children in the family and the extension of male dominance over women in society in general'. The literature on the role of women in the Greco-Roman world is extensive. For the prevalent, though by no means exclusive, domestic roles of women, see J. Carcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome: The People and the City at the Height of the Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), pp. 76-100; J. Leipoldt, *Die Frau in der antiken Welt und im Urchristentum* (Leipzig: Kohler & Amelang, 1954); J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Roman Women: Their History and Habits* (New York: John Day, 1963); S.B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), pp. 120-204; D.L. Balch, *Let Wives Be Submissive: The Domestic Code of 1 Peter* (SBLMS, 26; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), pp. 21-62; J.E. Gardner, *Women in Roman Law and Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986); E. Cantarella, *Pandora's Daughter: The Role and Status of Women in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), pp. 90-98, 113-59; S.B. Pomeroy, 'Greek Marriage', in M. Grant and R. Kitzinger (eds.), *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome* (3 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988), III, pp. 1333-42; S. Treggiari, 'Roman Marriage', in Grant and Kitzinger (eds.), *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean*, III, pp. 1343-54; M.R. Lefkowitz and M.B. Fant, *Women's Life in Greece and Rome: A Source Book in Translation* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2nd edn, 1992).

23. J.N. Collins, *Diakonia: Re-interpreting the Ancient Sources* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 73-191 (esp. pp. 191, 336).

24. Collins, *Diakonia*, pp. 3-95. H.W. Beyer ('διακονέω, διακονία, διάκονος', *TDNT*, II, pp. 81-93) asserts the traditional view that waiting at tables forms the basic image of διακονία, yet his own discussion of secular and New Testament examples indicates that the term has a much wider range of referents. It can denote the activity of merchants, tradespeople, moneylenders, priests, and political leaders. In New Testament literature, it expresses a range of ministries (Rom. 16.1-2; 2 Cor. 8.1-6; Mt. 25.42-44), including acts of love, proclamation, and leadership; see Schaberg, 'Luke', p. 287.

kind', activity relating to a message (as a go-between or spokesperson), an agency (activity of a person commissioned as an agent to execute a task), or attendance on a person (by acting on behalf of a person).[25] Collins offers examples of activities that 'implement the intention or desires of another': delivering messages, performing errands, executing contract killings, as well as priestly and prophetic callings, heavenly revelations, household tasks, and activities of agents authorized to execute various matters on behalf of another.[26]

The nature of the 'go-between' activity or agency that distracts Martha can be clarified by investigating the use of the noun διακονία in Luke–Acts. By the end of Acts, Luke's audience has encountered the noun διακονία eight times in contexts that concern not kitchen activity but participation with others in leadership and ministry on behalf of the Christian community.

This dimension appears in Acts 1.17 and 1.25 as the community appoints another apostle (Acts 1.25) to the group of male leaders after Judas's betrayal. The context indicates that preaching and mission on behalf of God and the church are the primary tasks of this διακονία.[27] In Acts 6.1 the Hellenist widows experience neglect in the daily ministry (διακονία). The Twelve want to devote themselves to 'prayer and the ministry (διακονία) of the word' (Acts 6.4).[28] So the Seven are set aside as representatives of the community commissioned to provide care and

Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (*In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* [New York: Crossroad, 1983], pp. 171-72) discusses Phoebe as a διάκονος (Rom. 16.1-2). A. Weiser ('διακονέω, διακονία, διάκονος', *EDNT*, I, pp. 302-304 [esp. p. 302]) identifies a similar variety of uses embracing 'specifically Christian functions in the Church: charitable activity, proclamation of the word, and the task of leadership'. J.P. Louw and E.A. Nida (*Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains* [2 vols.; New York: United Bible Societies, 2nd edn, 1989], I, pp. 460-61, §35.20) warn that translations of the cognate διάκονος must avoid terms that specifically emphasize meals or domestic service.

25. Collins, *Diakonia*, pp. 335-37. 'Waiting at table' is 'merely one expression of the notion of "go-between"—that is, the table attendant goes between diner and kitchen' (p. 335).

26. Collins, *Diakonia*, pp. 148, 173-91.

27. Collins (*Diakonia*, pp. 213, 338) views the two references as examples of being heaven's spokespersons 'mandated for the word'. H. Conzelmann (*Acts of the Apostles* [Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987], p. 11) renders διακονία 'ministry'. Tannehill (*Narrative Unity*, II, p. 21) sees the story warning those who have 'positions of leadership in the church'.

28. Collins (*Diakonia*, p. 213) comments that 'the Twelve are under commission to "the Word" and are the channel by which it communicates itself'.

material necessities (Acts 6.3, 5-6).[29] Διακονία refers to the social or eucharistic ministry to the widows (Acts 6.1) as well as to the preaching of the word on behalf of the church (Acts 6.4). The subsequent narrative shows the futility of attempting to differentiate rigidly between these two types of ministry, for Stephen, one of the Seven, performs signs and wonders (Acts 6.8) and preaches (Acts 6.10, 13-14; ch. 7).[30] 'These "relief officers" in Acts [appear] as Christian preachers and missionaries' functioning as representatives of the church'.[31]

The same emphasis on partnership in ministry and leadership on behalf of the church continues in Acts 11-12. In Lk. 11.29, after Agabus foretells a worldwide famine, the disciples in Antioch join together for ministry (εἰς διακονίαν) to Judea. In Acts 11.30, Barnabas and Saul, after fulfilling their ministry in Antioch, function as go-betweens in taking the relief to Jerusalem. Their joint ministry (διακονία, Acts 12.25) in Antioch is portrayed in Acts 11.26 as church planting, leadership, and teaching.[32]

The final two uses of διακονία in Acts denote Paul's lifework 'as a sacred commission to preach' received from the Lord.[33] Luke's Paul employs the term as he addresses the Ephesian elders (Acts 20.24) and as he addresses James and the elders of Jerusalem (Acts 21.19). In both scenes there is recognition of the leadership and preaching to which God has appointed Paul, as well as of his partnership with others in these tasks of ministry.[34]

29. Louw and Nida (*Greek–English Lexicon*, I, p. 462 §35.38; I, p. 571 §57.119) suggest two possible interpretations of διακονία in 6.1, a procedure for taking care of the needs of people, or money given to help someone in need. With both options the term is understood as something broader than the provision of food. E. Haenchen (*The Acts of the Apostles* [trans. B. Noble and G. Shinn, under the supervision of H. Anderson; trans. rev. R.McL.Wilson; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 14th edn, 1971], p. 263 n. 4) also sees the task as consisting of the general care of the poor and ailing. Fiorenza (*In Memory of Her*, pp. 164-67) argues that the reference is to eucharistic ministry which includes providing, preparing, serving, and distributing food. Collins (*Diakonia*, pp. 230-31, 339) emphasizes that the people are commissioned for particular roles on behalf of the church. He is undecided whether they attend people eating or provide financial assistance.

30. Also to be noted are the exalted terms with which Stephen is described: he is full of the Spirit and wisdom (6.3), of faith (6.5), of grace and power (6.8). I am suggesting that it is with such company and activity that the audience associates Martha.

31. Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 266. See pp. 264-69 for his more extensive discussion of the difficulties of this passage.

32. Collins (*Diakonia*, pp. 230, 338) classifies both texts as giving examples of emissaries of the church.

33. Collins, *Diakonia*, pp. 212-15.

34. In Acts 21.18-26 partnership is evident (1) in the Jewish believers' glorifying

Thus, in six of its eight occurrences in Acts διακονία indicates leadership and proclamation on behalf of God or of the church and the gospel. In two of the six the administration and provision of material relief for those in need are indicated without separation of these tasks from the tasks of leadership and proclamation. Partnership with others in the acts of ministry pervades all eight texts, as does the sense of ministering as the representative of God or of the church. Males are the focus of the ministry and leadership. Διακονία, thus, does not designate domestic or culinary activity. It refers, rather, to ministry and leadership in the Christian community and on its behalf.

This conclusion about the meaning of διακονία in Luke–Acts coheres with Collins's conclusion that the word means primarily the activity of a 'go-between'. Rather than designating a person of inferior status involved in table waiting or domestic service, διακονία in Luke's usage typically designates a commissioned spokesperson or agent, a 'go-between' who ministers on behalf of God or the Christian community.

In this context the source of Martha's distraction becomes clear. She is not distracted by her kitchen duties. Consistently with the actions of the male leaders of Acts denoted elsewhere by διακονία, her 'much ministry' consists rather of leadership or ministry in the Christian community and on its behalf. By analogy with these uses of διακονία, her responsibilities include care for believers, teaching, and preaching, perhaps as a leader of a house church.[35] Furthermore, given the naming of Mary as 'sister', the presentation of her positive response to Jesus, and the importance of partnership in the other references to διακονία in Acts, it is reasonable to conclude, significantly, that Martha and Mary are partners in this leadership and its tasks. As with the initial post-Easter group of leaders (Acts 1 and 6), with the Antiochene disciples (Acts 11.29), with Saul and Barnabas (Acts 12.25), and with Paul (Acts 20.24; 21.19), the leadership and ministry of Martha and Mary make available the blessings of God.[36]

God after hearing of God's action 'among the Gentiles through [Paul's] ministry'; (2) in Paul's willingness to purify himself and his four colleagues in order to maintain fellowship and unity. In 20.17-38 it is evident (1) in the recognition that the Holy Spirit is at work in the ministry of Paul (20.22, 23) and of the Ephesian elders (20.28); (2) in the recognition of mutual difficulties (of Paul, 20.19, 23; of the Ephesian leaders, 20.29-31); (3) in the common bond of faithful care for the believers (by Paul, 20.19-21, 27; by the Ephesian leaders, 20.28, 31).

35. By the end of Acts the audience has heard of Mary (Acts 12.12), Lydia (16.15), and Priscilla and Aquila (Acts 18.2-4, 18, 26), who provide 'space, support and leadership' for house churches. See Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, pp. 175-84, esp. pp. 177-79.

36. B. Malina, 'Patron and Client: The Analogy behind Synoptic Theology', *FFF* 4 (1988), pp. 3-33 (esp. pp. 9-11).

These two women are members of the community of brokers that, as Moxnes has argued, offers access to the *beneficio* of God the patron.[37] Significantly, Martha's (and Mary's) inclusion with these leaders or brokers indicates that women as well as men exercise leadership and ministry in the community created by Luke's text.

Two further factors reinforce the understanding that Martha is distracted by her responsibilities of leadership and ministry on behalf of the church. The first concerns the nine other uses of the cognate verb διακονεῖν, 'to serve', in Luke–Acts (its use in Lk. 10.40b will be discussed later). The verb can have a range of referents, but basic to its meaning is the idea of being a 'go-between', of performing commissioned actions on behalf of another. In four examples it refers to the performing of household duties by slaves and women (in three parables at Lk. 12.37; 17.8; 22.27a; also in 4.39).[38] Examination of the narrative context of the three parables also indicates a metaphoric meaning. Two of the parables identify Jesus as the 'go-between' performing among human beings his God-given (commissioned) tasks (Lk. 12.37; 22.27).[39] The third parable

37. H. Moxnes ('Patron–Client Relations and the New Community in Luke–Acts', in J.H. Neyrey [ed.], *The Social World of Luke–Acts: Models for Interpretation* [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991], pp. 241-68) sees Luke employing, but transforming, the patron–client institution to depict the fellowship of the new community. He argues that God is the benefactor and patron with people as clients. Jesus is the broker who gives men and women (Acts 9.2) access to God's *beneficia* in his teaching and actions. Apostles and disciples are also brokers. Their brokerage, like Jesus' brokerage, is marked by service and by acting on behalf of God (12.41-48; 22.25-26) as they extend God's *beneficia* to men and women (17.4, 12). The Twelve and the Seventy make available the power of God in healing and in proclaiming the reign of God (9.2; 10.9). For other discussions of patron–client relationships, see A.R. Hands, *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome* (Aspects of Greek and Roman Life; London: Thames & Hudson, 1968); S.C. Mot, 'The Power of Giving and Receiving: Reciprocity in Hellenistic Benevolence', in G.E. Hawthorn (ed.), *Current Issues in Biblical and Patristic Interpretation: Studies in Honor of M.C. Tenney* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), pp. 60-72; S.N. Eisenstadt and L. Roniger, 'Patron–Client Relations as a Model of Structuring Social Exchange', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (1980), pp. 42-77; Eisenstadt and Roniger (eds.), *Patrons, Clients and Friends: Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society* (Themes in the Social Sciences; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); F.W. Danker, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* (St Louis: Clayton, 1982); R.P. Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982); J.H. Elliott, 'Patronage and Clientism in Early Christian Society', *FFF*, 3 (1987), pp. 39-48; Malina, 'Patron and Client', pp. 3-33; Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, pp. 175-84.

38. On the basis of Collins's work, it is possible to understand this reference as one indicating not domestic service but ministry on behalf of Jesus and other disciples.

39. In Lk. 12.37 the Master who serves denotes Jesus the Son of Man, the 'go-

(Lk. 17.8) exemplifies apostles (Lk. 17.5), hence church leaders, faithfully attending to their commissioned tasks on behalf of God and accountable to God, without expecting thanks or reward.[40] Leadership is in view in Lk. 22.26b, as the actions of commissioned representatives of the church are in view in Acts 6.2 (care for the poor)[41] and in Acts 19.22 (the mission of Timothy and Erastus as partners with Paul).[42] Luke 8.3 may designate women who financially support the mission of Jesus or who use their resources on his behalf, extending his commission through their own missionary activity.[43] It is clear that the verb διακονεῖν is used in these contexts to designate Jesus (Lk. 12.37; 22.27b), apostles (Lk. 17.8; Acts 6.2), other missionary leaders (Acts 19.22), and women (Lk. 8.3; 4.39) a commissioned representatives, agents, 'go-betweens', spokespersons of God's saving action.

Martha's ministry is undertaken in partnership with that of the new community, with women and men, in continuation and imitation of Jesus' life-work and death. In light of this information from Luke–Acts and it cultural context, Tannehill's claim that 'in Luke διακονία (service) and διακονέω (serve) *always refer to the work of preparing and serving food*, work normally performed by those regarded as social inferiors, such as women and servants'[44] (emphasis mine) cannot be sustained.

A second piece of information concerns the presentation of women in Luke–Acts. Though this is the subject of much debate, women do appear throughout the narrative in roles of leadership and proclamation; we may note the preachers Mary (Lk. 1.46-55) and Anna (Lk. 2.36-38), the

between' commissioned by God (1.30-33; 2.34-35; 3.17; 4.18) to do God's redeeming and judging work among human beings. In 22.27a the servant is the intermediary between the one sitting at table and the kitchen, while in 22.27b Jesus is the one who serves not only in 'a lowly humble way' (so most commentaries) but as the one who, in offering bread and wine (22.19-22), faithfully carries out the divine commission and offers himself and his lifework.

40. So P.S. Minear, 'A Note on Luke 17.7-10', *JBL* 93 (1974), pp. 82-87; I.H. Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, p. 645; Danker, *Jesus and the New Age*, p. 288; L.T. Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke* (Sacra Pagina, 3; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991), p. 261; Craddock, *Luke*, pp. 199-201.

41. So Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 261-62; L.T. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Sacra Pagina, 5; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), p. 106.

42. Timothy appears in Acts 16.1; 17.14; 18.5; 20.4 as Paul's partner and agent in his mission of preaching and establishing churches. Acts 19.22 is the only reference to Erastus in Acts.

43. For the second possibility, see Karris, 'Women and Discipleship'.

44. Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, II, p. 22 (but compare Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, I, p. 257, where he recognizes διακονία as a received commission to be performed). Moxnes ('Patron–Client Relations', pp. 259, 261, 266) has a similar understanding.

four women prophetesses (Acts 21.9), women patrons (Mary in Acts 12.12 and Lydia in Acts 16.15) who have groups of believers meeting in their houses, Priscilla the missionary (Acts 18.18) and teacher (Acts 18.26).[45] Martha is in good company. She appears (with Mary) as one of several women in roles of ministry and leadership, in partnership with the church's wider ministry.

Martha's words to Jesus in Lk. 10.40b disclose further information about the cause and nature of her distraction 'with much ministry'. Doing what any burdened person or community should do in Luke's world (cf. Lk. 18.13; 22.39-46; Acts 4.24-30), and anticipating the instruction to the disciples about prayer in the following scene (Lk. 11.1-13), Martha seeks the Lord's intervention. More often than not through the narrative, the verb ἐφίστημι, 'come', which expresses Martha's approach to Jesus in Lk. 10.40, involves encounter with divine power or presence.[46] Martha's use of the title 'Lord' (κύριε) in addressing Jesus is appropriate for a disciple who encounters in Jesus God's authority and reign.[47] That 'sister' (ἀδελφή)

45. Fiorenza's claim (*In Memory of Her*, p. 161) that Luke nowhere pictures women as missionaries and preachers is questionable.

46. The verb appears 18 times in Luke–Acts with a variety of meanings. The dimension of encounter with divine power and presence is prominent in Lk. 2.9, 38; 4.39; 21.34; 24.4; Acts 12.7; 23.11. Three other events in whose description the verb is used reflect divine intervention: Acts 10.17; 11.11; 22.13. Fitzmyer (*Gospel According to Luke I–IX*, p. 409) indicates that in classical Greek the verb often denotes encounters with gods and heavenly beings who appear in dreams and visions. See also the references listed in BAGD, *s.v.* ἐφίστημι.

47. While the title 'Lord' does not indicate divinity in Luke–Acts, it does express Jesus' transcendent character which puts him on a level with God (so Fitzmyer, *Gospel According to Luke I–IX*, pp. 200-204 [esp. p. 203]). See also his comments (and those of Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, pp. 204, 274, 285) on the use of the vocative κύριε in Lk. 5.8, 12; 6.46. E. Franklin (*Christ the Lord: A Study in the Theology and Purpose of Luke–Acts* [Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1975], pp. 49-55) argues that the use of the title κύριος for both Jesus and God indicates that Jesus is viewed as deriving his authority from God: the vocative 'expresses the response of a community which already knows the power of the Exalted One' and which recognizes that he shares God's 'authority and supremacy' (p. 53); so also J.D. Kingsbury (*Jesus Christ in Matthew, Mark and Luke* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981], pp. 98-100). The christological and ecclesial dimensions of the title in the story of Martha and Mary are recognized by I. de la Potterie ('Le Titre ΚΥΡΙΟΣ appliqué à Jésus dans L'Evangile de Luc', in A. Descamps and A. de Halleux (eds.), *Mélanges bibliques en hommage au R.P. Béda Rigaux* [Gembloux: Duculot, 1970], pp. 117-46 [esp. pp. 129-32]), and by Grundmann (*Evangelium nach Lukas*, p. 226). Others are not convinced. E. Hahn (*The Titles of Jesus in Christology: Their History in Early Christianity* [Lutterworth Library; London: Lutterworth Press, 1969], pp. 81-85) sees the use of the vocative as an expression of the subordination of the user; while C.E.D. Moule ('The Christology of Acts', in L.E. Keck and J.L. Martyn

denotes physical as well as ecclesial relationship is suggested by the content of Lk. 10.38-39 indicated above, by Jesus' prior use of familial terms to denote and redefine the community of disciples (Lk. 8.19-21), and by subsequent uses of ἀδελφός for the Christian community.[48] The verb διακονέω, 'serve', can designate functions of ministry and leadership on behalf of God or of believing communities, as we have noted. The verb 'help' resonates with its use in the LXX to designate God's saving and sustaining help in times of crisis. It also recalls Mary's affirmation of God's merciful and faithful intervention in human affairs (Lk. 1.54).[49] In asking the Lord to tell Mary to help her, Martha seeks the Lord's intervention to bring about Mary's active help.

Martha's 'distraction with much ministry' arises, then, from difficulties in her partnership with Mary as a leader. It is the 'muchness' of her task that distracts Martha (a fact underlined in Jesus' response in Lk. 10.41), περὶ πολλά. Specifically, her complaint is that Mary has left her to minister alone (Lk. 10.40b). From Martha's perspective, Mary is not pulling her weight. Martha's prayer to the Lord is the request of a disciple for the Lord's intervention to secure her sister's active participation in their partnership of ministry.

The importance of partnership to this request cannot be understated. We have already noted in our discussion of the eight uses of διακονία that partnership in ministry was a constant feature of the term's use.[50] Further, this emphasis on partnership in the passages in Acts confirms what was already established in the sending out of the Twelve and the Seventy in Lk. 9-10. The plural language in Lk. 9.1-6 indicates that Jesus sends the Twelve as a group to be brokers of the kingdom's presence and of God's healing power. In ch. 10, the Seventy are sent two by two (Lk. 10.1) to perform the same tasks (Lk. 10.9). In Lk. 10.25-37, the audience has seen the Samaritan exercise his patronage in partnership with the innkeeper (Lk. 10.33-35).

Given Luke–Acts's pervasive concern with partnership in ministry,

(eds.), *Studies in Luke–Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert* [Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966], pp. 159-85) thinks it indicates respectful address.

48. See n. 19 above.

49. The verb συναντιλαμβάνομαι has this meaning in the LXX of Exod. 18.22 and Num. 11.17. In Ps. 88.22, it indicates God's help for the king (cf. Rom. 8.26). The simpler form ἀντιλαμβάνομαι used in the Magnificat at Lk. 1.54, appears particularly in the LXX of the Pss. (68.29 [NRSV Ps. 69.29]; 19.2 [NRSV 20.2]; 17.35 [NRSV 18.35]) and Isa. 41.9 with this sense of divine intervention.

50. For example, the post-Easter Eleven (Acts 1.17, 25), the Twelve and the Seven (6.1-4), the Antiochene disciples who act together (11.29), Saul and Barnabas (12.25), and Paul with the elders of Ephesus (20.17-39), and Jerusalem (21.18-19).

Martha's question (her prayer) is an important one. It concerns a central aspect of the new community's style of ministry. It is the prayerful concern of a person committed to working out the Lukan model of leadership. It provides the occasion for instruction about this model. One of the functions of this pericope, then, is to reinforce the gospel audience's understanding of ministry and leadership as an act of partnership. As much as ministry or brokerage is commissioned *for* the service of another, it is carried out *with* others, as an act of partnership.

## III

In Lk. 10.41-42, the Lord responds to Martha's prayer (cf. Lk. 18.1-8) by providing instruction about how to maintain partnership in leadership. The instruction is explicit for Martha and implicit for Mary. Jesus begins in Lk. 10.41 by naming Martha's anxiety 'about many things'.[51] The use of the verb μεριμνάω in ch. 12 and the noun μέριμνα in Lk. 8.14 indicates the harmful role of anxiety in discipleship.[52] Anxiety reveals false commitments and distractions which prevent single-hearted responses to the word made in an attitude full of faith (so the parable of Lk. 8.14). Jesus reminds disciples that the Holy Spirit supplies words of witness and proclamation in anxiety-inducing situations (Lk. 12.11-12). He encourages anxious and distracted disciples to center themselves on God by recognizing and trusting God's gracious valuing of them and providing for them (Lk. 12.24, 28, 30). In like manner, Jesus suggests that Martha needs 'one thing', Mary's 'good portion' (Lk. 10.42).[53] The good portion that Martha needs is not to prepare just one dish in the kitchen but to join Mary in listening to Jesus' teaching as a means of overcoming her distraction and regaining her single-heartedness (cf. Lk. 10.39).[54] His

51. On the textual difficulties of these verses, see especially Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, pp. 452-53; Talbert, *Reading Luke*, pp. 125-26; Fitzmyer, *Gospel According to Luke X–XXIV*, p. 894; Witherington III, *Women in the Ministry of Jesus*, p. 102; *TCGNT*, pp. 153-54.

52. Lk. 12.11, 22, 25, 26. R. Bultmann, 'μεριμνάω', *TDNT*, IV, pp. 589-93. The other verb, θορυβάζω, a *hapax legomenon*, is textually uncertain.

53. I follow the *UBSGNT* text. For the textual and interpretive possibilities, see the commentaries and A. Baker, 'One Thing Necessary', *CBQ* 27 (1965), pp. 127-37; G.D. Fee, '"One Thing is Needful"? Luke 10.42', in E.J. Epp and G.D. Fee (eds.), *New Testament Textual Criticism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 61-75; *TCGNT*, pp. 153-54.

54. So Fitzmyer, *Gospel According to Luke X–XXIV*, p. 892; Schweizer, *Good News*, p. 189. In the LXX, μερίς indicates being in the company of people (Ps. 49.18) as well as trust and openness toward God and God's word (Pss. 72.26; 118.57).

word to her is not a rebuke but the answer to her prayer concerning her distraction 'with much ministry'.

The question that has plagued interpreters is the relationship in which Mary and Martha stand to one another at this point in the story. E. Schüssler Fiorenza has rightly criticized interpretations that view the two women as polarities, that force readers to choose between the active and the contemplative life, between everyday or spiritual life, between domestic responsibilities or service of Jesus, between the secular, active Martha and the submissive, quiet Mary.[55] Since the context and content of Martha's complaint and request concern partnership in ministry and leadership, Martha cannot be viewed as exclusively domestic and secular, nor Mary as contemplative and submissive. Since Martha and Mary are partners in ministry, these 'either–or' approaches are not viable options. A 'both–and' relationship is required.[56]

The context of the story provides the clue to the nature of this relationship. Jesus' instruction to Martha to follow Mary's example reiterates a point already made in the preceding verses. While commentators have noticed patterns of alternation and contrast in the responses to Jesus (by crowds, disciples, Pharisees) throughout the travel narrative,[57] another alternating pattern appears in ch. 10 with regard to disciples. The sequence of pericopes alternates between scenes of active ministry and scenes of encounter with God, the patron and source of the mission.[58] For instance, the opening 16 verses of ch. 10 focus attention on the Seventy as active and commissioned agents or brokers in mission. They receive instruction from Jesus (Lk. 10.2-16), and they engage in ministry (Lk. 10.1, 17). When they return from their ministry rejoicing in their power (Lk. 10.17), Jesus confirms their role as active brokers of the reign of God (Lk. 10.19) but immediately recalls them to their relationship with their patron, God.[59] They are directed to rejoice not in their power over

55. See Fiorenza, 'Feminist Critical Interpretation', pp. 16-36.

56. Loveday Alexander ('Sisters in Adversity', pp. 181-82) draws attention to Jesus' refusal elsewhere in Luke to take sides in sibling rivalries (6.37-42, esp. vv. 41-42; 12.13-15; 15.25-32).

57. D.R. Moessner, *Lord of the Banquet*, pp. 212-16. Reicke ('Instruction and Discussion', pp. 209-15) sees an alternation between instruction to disciples and discussion with opponents.

58. For discussion of the theocentric nature of Luke–Acts, see R.L. Brawley, *Centering on God: Method and Message in Luke–Acts* (Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990). Kopas ('Jesus and Women', p. 198) emphasizes the story's presentation of depth of relationship with God as the basis for 'wholeness, integration and reconciliation'.

59. Fitzmyer, *Gospel According to Luke X-XXIV*, p. 860.

spirits, not in their activity, but in the fact that their names are written in heaven (Lk. 10.20). The metaphor of having one's name written in the register of God's people denotes the identity and allegiance that provide the source of the Seventy's ministry.[60] As brokers, they must be sure of the patron on whose behalf and for whose interests they are 'go-betweens'.

Verses 21-22 reinforce this reminder by presenting Jesus in prayer. After his ministry to the Seventy (Lk. 10.1-16), Jesus appears in Lk. 10.21-22 as one whose ministry or brokerage, like that of the Seventy, is also centered in God's revelatory power and derived from it. Luke 10.23-24 maintains this focus as Jesus blesses the disciples (the brokers) as recipients of God's revelation. The two themes of doing ministry (brokerage, Lk. 10.1-16) and of encounter with God the patron, the source of the ministry (Lk. 10.17-24), are intertwined.

Luke 10.25-37 continues the interaction of the two themes in the lawyer's questions. He asks Jesus the broker how he might receive one of God's benefactions, eternal life (Lk. 10.25), and how he might be a broker of love for his neighbor (Lk. 10.29).

The instruction closing Jesus' story about the Samaritan, 'Go and do likewise' (Lk. 10.37), emphasizes active ministry. Martha is one who rightly and commendably goes and does likewise, but her ministry and leadership activity have left her 'distracted with much ministry', 'anxious and troubled'. In the context of the alternating patterns, and of Jesus' comment in 10.42, it seems that she has neglected the source of that ministry. Mary appears as a person who has the 'one thing' that Martha needs at this time to regain her single-heartedness, to listen to Jesus' teaching (cf. Lk. 10.23-24). In the context of the interweaving of the two themes throughout ch. 10, the gospel's audience is not invited to choose one woman rather than the other but, like Martha and Mary, to find partnership between them.

The interweaving of these two emphases has implications for understanding Mary's role in 10.42. The interweaving relativizes the commendation of Mary which is offered there. Previously, in Lk. 8.21, Jesus has declared that his family comprises those who 'hear the word of God and do it' (cf. Lk. 8.15). The Seventy exhibit the doing of the teaching (Lk. 10.1-16, 17), and the hearers of the parable of the good Samaritan are left with the same challenge (Lk. 10.37). Jesus returns to the same theme in

60. See G. Schrenk, 'βιβλος, βιβλίον', *TDNT*, I, pp. 618-20; *idem*, 'γράφω, ἐγγράφω' *TDNT*, I, pp. 769-70; also I.H. Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, p. 430; S. Danker, *Jesus and the New Age*, p. 128; Fitzmyer, *Gospel According to Luke X–XXIV*, pp. 863-64; Schweizer, *Good News*, p. 181.

Lk. 11.27-28 as he blesses 'those who hear (οἱ ἀκούοντες) the word of God and keep it'. Beyond 'hearing' is 'doing' or 'keeping' the word. Mary's listening is appropriate to this specific moment,[61] and it is good as far as it goes, but there is no commendation of her as a perpetual listener. Listening requires that she also do, or keep, the word.[62] Only then can her partnership with Martha in ministry and leadership be effective.

The gospel's audience is thus, through chs. 10–11, given warning and instruction about several dangers of ministry and leadership. One danger is that disciples may exult so much in *doing* that they, like the Seventy, are in danger of forgetting loyalty to their patron, the source of their brokerage (Lk. 10.20). Another danger is that leaders may be so energetically engaged in ministry that they, like Martha, are distracted from ministry's source. Martha's concern about being 'distracted with much ministry' is answered when the Lord recalls her to the basis of her life work, to that which sustains her ministry (Lk. 10.41-42). Mary manifests yet another possible danger, that disciples may be so intently centered on the Lord's teaching (Lk. 10.39-40) that they do not do or pass on the teaching (cf. Lk. 8.21; 11.28). Both Martha and Mary threaten the partnership in ministry, though they do so in different ways.

## IV

I have argued that Lk. 10.38-42 celebrates and affirms Martha's and Mary's ministry rather than rendering them silent and invisible. Their ministry is done in partnership with that of a number of men (the Eleven/Twelve, Stephen and the Seven, Paul and Barnabas, Jesus) and of other women.

Not only does the pericope remember and proclaim this partnership of two women in ministry, it also offers instruction about the way in which

61. Craddock, *Luke*, p. 152, an interpretation proposed by John Chrysostom. See B.R. Heffner, 'Meister Eckhart and Mary and Martha', in M.S. Burrows and P. Rorem (eds.), *Biblical Hermeneutics in Historical Perspective: Studies in Honor of Karlfried Froehlich on His Sixtieth Birthday* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), pp. 117-30 (esp. p. 120).

62. The extravagant praise that commentators heap on Mary and the strong insistence (for instance, by Talbert, *Reading Luke*, p. 125; Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, pp. 450-51) that hearing the word is the crucial point must be qualified by attention to this sequence in which 8.21 precedes the story of Martha and Mary, and 11.28 follows it. Mary's response to Jesus is commended in the pericope, but the prior declaration (8.14) and the subsequent benediction on hearing and keeping (11.28) emphasize for the audience a further dimension of her discipleship (and the audience's own discipleship).

this brokerage is to be actualized. The ministerial partnership consists of the interaction between active brokerage in ministry and encounter with God the patron, as it is depicted in chs. 10 and 11. The sequence of pericopes in these chapters warns that a number of factors can destroy this interaction and actualization. Along with the affirmation of her role, Martha, with Mary, presents the audience with a warning of dangers that attend all women and men who are engaged in partnership of ministry and leadership.[63]

Martha and Mary, thus, are not invisible or silenced; nor are they domesticated or token figures. Their story (which Luke alone tells) presents an instructive example of crucial aspects of the tasks of ministry and discipleship in the new community. The larger question of this story's place in the presentation of women in Luke–Acts as a whole remains for further investigation. That task will be difficult, given the ambiguities of the text and the presuppositions of all interpreters.[64] What cannot be overlooked in the debate, however, is that this story utilizes two women, Martha and Mary, to provide positive instruction about partnership in ministry and leadership.[65]

63. This conclusion supports and develops Moxnes's claim ('Patron–Client Relations', p. 267) that Luke presents a 'radical transformation of the patronage system as a model for social relations within the Christian community'.

64. D'Angelo ('Women in Luke–Acts', p. 442) notes that 'the author of Luke does increase the number of stories about women', but that 'the roles in which women appear are more restricted'.

65. My thanks to Dr Harold Washington and Dr David May, and to the editorial readers of the *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* for insightful responses to earlier forms of this article.

# The Language of Community: A Cautionary Tale (Luke 10.38-42)*

Pamela Thimmes

Literature, particularly story, is a pragmatic enterprise; it has purpose and intent. It can be prescriptive, descriptive, enlightening, entertaining, and confrontational. All of these textures or 'thicknesses' are inherent to story and accomplished because language and its use in the creation of story is rooted in a social world, a culture, more precisely, many cultures. Reading the literature of antiquity, then, evidences not only some of the concerns and interests of ancient communities, but also the values, convictions, and beliefs, the socio-cultural and ideological textures of that world.[1] Such reading also requires the recognition that the literature that remains is privileged literature representing the winners, the orthodox positions. The undervoices are largely silent or distorted.

Scholarship has demonstrated that every significant human movement—social, political, economic, religious—develops its own special language that aids in orienting people to see the world, institutions, themselves, and others in particular ways. The biblical texts provide a glimpse of the *language* of ancient communities, more precisely, languages (i.e. narrative and rhetorical strategies), that provide insights into the worlds from which these texts come, an entrée to how a community converses with itself as well as how it converses with those outside.[2]

* This text is a narrowed exploration of topics first explored in 'The Language of Community: Metaphors, Systems of Convictions, Ethnic and Gender Issues in Luke 10.25-42' (SBLSP; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), pp. 698-713, and 'Narrative and Rhetorical Conflict in Luke 10.38-42: A Cautionary Tale', *Proceedings: Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Biblical Society* 20 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 2000), pp. 51-62. I have revised the latter in continuing to investigate the elements of gender and conflict in Lk. 10.38-42.

1. Vernon K. Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts: A Guide to Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996), pp. 1, 3; also see Vernon K. Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse: Rhetoric, Society and Ideology* (New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 5.

2. Although silent, the undervoices are clearly not privileged in these texts, we

Language is an enterprise that both includes and excludes; it denotes and it connotes. The language of community employed and embodied in text/story creates worlds, restricts worlds, and serves as an arbiter for a broad range of commonplace practices and viewpoints including (but not limited to) symbol, ritual, gender, relationships, resources, limitations, core values, modes of communication, issues of safety and well-being, and concerns and presuppositions about boundary issues (i.e. purity and taboo).[3]

The making of texts was mainly the prerogative of males in the Greco-Roman world. Students (presumably male) were schooled in the use of literary devices, the persuasive capacity of language, the order inherent in a well-crafted text/oration, and the aesthetic pleasure provided by a melodious phrase. Rhetoric and literature were accountable to basic, critical requirements: to educate, to entertain, and to please.[4] How one used the language determined whether the critical requirements were fulfilled. If successful, these texts/orations could serve as a concrete expression of the ordering of society.

Language and linguistic devices, in both written and spoken form, are more than non-material tools. Language does more than simply report; it can alter world views. As Bernard Lee says, language is never 'just words. It is a way of being in the world';[5] it is 'the house we live in as human beings'.[6]

Ancient texts require a closer look at social context and social systems because language is a function of social and political arrangements. Keys to these contexts and systems are carried and transmitted in and by the linguistic codes, the communicative conventions used. Language socializes individuals and communities into particular symbolic and metaphoric worlds within which meaning is made, worlds are created, and boundaries erected and maintained. Lexical choice and speech forms, then, are indicators of self-definition, social and cultural values, and prescribed (and inscribed) social arrangements. In this sense Clifford Geertz's theory of *culture as text* is read back as text as culture, and the

can sometimes recover traces of their positions within the language of community used in texts that represent the interests of the dominant voices.

3. Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts*, p. 3.

4. Aristotle, *Poetics*, in H. Adams (ed.), *Critical Theory Since Plato* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971), pp. 47-66; *The 'Art' of Rhetoric* (trans. J.H. Freese; LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982); Longinus, 'On the Sublime', in Adams (ed.), *Critical Theory Since Plato*, pp. 76-92.

5. Bernard Lee and Michael Cowan, *Dangerous Memories: House Churches and Our American Story* (Kansas City, MO: Sheed & Ward, 1986), p. 81.

6. Lee and Cowan, *Dangerous Memories*, p. 62.

process is constantly repeated.[7] Written language embodies all of these aspects and combines them in ways that Trevor Barnes and James Duncan argue are both conventional and inventive: 'writing is constitutive, not simply reflective; new worlds are made out of old texts, and old worlds are the basis of new texts'.[8]

The range or texture of a text is discovered in *how* (narrative and rhetorical methods) a community speaks to itself and others, *what* a community names as its experiences, and *whom* it includes and excludes, liberates and restricts in its story world. For example, what topics are discussed, by whom, and with what assertions and/or implications? What kinds of characters are included, how is characterization handled and developed, and how do characters interact with one another? Can the reader distinguish stereotypic characterization rooted in first-century cultural stereotypes from characterization molded to other narrative or rhetorical designs? Does the language reveal the values that undergird the community and serve to initiate friction and disagreement or discord? Does it reflect various alliances (political, religious, and cultural), and does it expose conflicts that are then evoked and nurtured in the text?[9] The language of community, then, is found in the tension created among values, traditions, and experience, between the ideal and the reality, between one system of convictions and another.

I have chosen Lk. 10.38-42, Jesus visiting Martha and Mary, as an example of a text that demonstrates the 'language of community', particularly one aspect of conflict in an ancient community. The 'language' evident here is concerned with sexual politics, and the apparent frame or template Luke uses to make his point is female familial hospitality and a meal. This text not only demonstrates conflict associated with Lukan sexual politics, it illustrates that Luke chose and constructed iconic figures from the traditions and memory of early Christian communities to express and declare his position.

## *Visiting Martha and Mary*

Luke assembles in his gospel an interesting array of people to interact with Jesus. One of his favorite strategies is to follow a story of a man (men) with a story of a woman (women) or vice versa. This section of the

7. Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

8. Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan, 'Introduction: Writing Worlds', in T.J. Barnes and J.S. Duncan (eds.), *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape* (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 3.

9. Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts*, p. 4.

gospel has often been used as an example of that technique. The story of four men—i.e., the story of the good Samaritan (six, if Jesus and the victim are counted)—is followed by a vignette of two women, Martha and Mary, and their visitor, Jesus.

This story is one that feminist scholars have seen as a cautionary tale for women. Luke provides an intensely private and personal scene. Women are depicted in terms of their roles or jobs: as 'listening to his teaching' (ἤκουεν τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ, Lk. 10.39) and 'serving' (διακονίαν / διακονεῖν, Lk. 10.40).[10] These brief descriptors do not put the women and their roles at odds with one another; rather the discussion that follows does that, and it prescribes value for one role at the expense of the other. The jobs of serving and listening are put in tension by Martha's complaint and Jesus' seeming preference for Mary's 'position'. What really is the conflict in this passage, and what is Luke's language of community here? Does this text indicate that actual women in Luke's community found themselves in these prescribed and restricted roles? Or, is this text an indication of Luke's preferences for the roles women played in the community; so is this text a (sexual-) theo-political debate aimed at arguing for the imposition of specific restrictions on women?

E. Schüssler Fiorenza has condensed the traditional interpretations of the passage into three different readings that serve to polarize the parties and understand the text as a simple good–bad scenario: the abstractionist interpretation reduces Martha and Mary to theological principles or types; for example, justification of works and justification of faith, this world and the world to come (Augustine), or the active and the contemplative life in this world (Origen);[11] the polarization interpretation supports a 'good woman vs. bad woman' polemic;[12] and the apologetic feminist interpretation, also a polarization model, celebrates Mary's role as a rabbinical student or disciple, seated at the feet of Jesus the rabbi.[13]

Each of these 'traditional' interpretations is flawed. In all three scenarios, the story is understood only in terms of dualities, pitting one woman against another, one religion against another, one ideology against another, the role of Jewish women is placed over against that of Christian women, the housewife over against the disciple. Even ostensibly more benign interpretations still tend to maintain a dualistic focus. Some Christian scholars seem to have been following R. Akiba's directive, 'Every

10. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, 'A Feminist Critical Interpretation for Liberation: Martha and Mary (Lk. 10.38-42)', *Religion and Intellectual Life* 3 (1986), pp. 16-36.
11. Fiorenza, 'A Feminist Critical Interpretation', pp. 26-27.
12. Fiorenza, 'A Feminist Critical Interpretation', p. 27.
13. Fiorenza, 'A Feminist Critical Interpretation', p. 28.

section of Scripture is explained by the one that stands next to it' (*Sifre Num.* 131), and so interpreted Lk. 10.38-42 in terms of the Samaritan story that preceded it. If the Samaritan story (Lk. 10.25-37) was about the second great commandment, 'love your neighbor', then the story of Martha and Mary is about the first great commandment, 'love God'.[14]

Attention to the texture of the text indicates that a far more complex reading is required. Among the first things the reader learns is that Martha welcomes Jesus (who is alone) as a guest into *her* home, and Martha has a sister named Mary. The women are 'named' in relation to each other, not in relation to any male family member (father, spouse, or sibling). The reader familiar with Martha and Mary from John's gospel might be struck by the absence of any reference to the brother, Lazarus (Jn 11.1-44). Luke, alone, provides a story involving Martha and Mary as independent women householders. Even if Luke knows traditions about a male sibling, here he writes a scene of direct interaction between the women and Jesus, and he is not interested in any other males in their lives.

Additionally, Luke indicates that Jesus is welcomed into Martha's house. Both the naming of the women and Martha's 'status' as householder are designators that speak to the prominence of these women in the memory as well as the traditions of the Christian community. In Lukan narratives, women householders are not an unusual phenomenon since Luke also roots the origin of the Philippian community in Lydia's house (Acts 16.11-40).[15] However, in an ironic naming twist, after Luke names the women he refers to Jesus only as 'Lord' (κύριος)[16] throughout the text, a curious variation on 'naming' that seems to indicate further that these three characters have an 'iconic' status in the Lukan community: Jesus is known only by title, not proper name, and interacts directly and privately with two named and known women prominent in the history and memory of Jesus' ministry.

Introducing the reader to small-town family life, Luke focuses first on

14. Charles H. Talbert, *Reading Luke: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Third Gospel* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), p. 125; I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), pp. 450-51; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke X–XXIV* (AB, 28A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), p. 892.

15. For a reading of this text see Luise Schottroff, 'Lydia: A New Quality of Power', in her *Let the Oppressed Go Free: Feminist Perspectives on the New Testament* (trans. A.S. Kidder; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991), pp. 131-37.

16. 'That Luke 10.38-42 is generated by and addressed to a situation in the life of the early church rather than in the life of Jesus is linguistically signaled by the title *kyrios*...' See Fiorenza, 'A Feminist Critical Interpretation', pp. 29-30.

Martha, and Mary is named *only* in relation to Martha, as one 'who sat at the Lord's feet and listened to his teaching' (10.39b, καὶ παρακαθεσθεῖσα πρὸς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ κυρίου ἤκουεν τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ). The introduction is descriptive narration that establishes the mode of relationship or the bond between the women and prepares for the exchange that follows. The dominant actor from the beginning is Martha—she is named first, she is named as householder, she is occupied with providing hospitality, and she will initiate conversation by speaking directly with Jesus. Mary's role is indicated by her position at Jesus' feet, a position of subordination. She is named only in relation to her sister; she will be talked about, but she has no voice of her own in the text.

In 10.40, Luke provides more information about Martha by adding that 'Martha was distracted (περιεσπᾶτο) with much serving (διακονίαν)'. The text indicates quite different roles for the women in the presence of a visiting male. Is Martha's 'serving' and 'distraction' something that surprises the reader? Entertaining guests demands 'multitasking' on the part of the hostess. We are told this is Martha's *home* and her role is that of servant—the term διακονία appears nowhere else in the gospel.[17] The implied meaning of the 'serving' refers to a meal,[18] and here it includes entertaining the guest.

So, what is Luke's point? Martha is serving, the role women often assumed at public meals, and Mary is sitting at the male's feet, the role of the wife of the householder in a public meal setting. But, the scene presents some problems: this is not a public setting, Mary is not the 'wife' of the householder, and what is an unmarried male doing alone in the home of two unmarried women?

This is not the stereotypical Greco-Roman public meal; rather, it is a small, private meal shared by a male and two females—a man and two women who are not related to each other. The implications of locating these three people together, out of the public eye, is not something Luke pursues in the text, although for the reader this curious setting provides an interesting, and possibly scandalous, sub-text. As Corley notes, 'Although it is true that such a scene of Jesus alone with two women might cause a scandal, to include a large host of other men and women in the scene would be worse'.[19] In addition, she argues that when Luke

17. See discussion of the term in Kathleen Corley, *Private Women, Public Meals: Social Conflict in the Synoptic Tradition* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993), pp. 133-44.

18. For a discussion of 'waiting at table', see Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, '"Waiting at Table": A Critical Feminist Theological Reflection on Diakonia', in Norbert Greinacher and Norbert Mette (eds.), *Diakonia: Church for Others* (Concilium; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988), pp. 84-94.

19. Corley, *Private Women*, p. 138.

includes meal scenes with women, they are private affairs; the women do not recline with the men, and the women in these settings generally are portrayed in a submissive and traditional manner.[20]

Luke's emphases are on 'place' (i.e., Martha's home and Mary's physical and spatial position) and on διακονία ('service'). Place and serving are held in tension and played off each other as simple dualities. Martha's roles as distracted householder, host, and as one occupied by διακονία are played off Mary's position at Jesus' feet. Furthermore, Martha's complaint to Jesus about Mary (10.40b, Κύριε, οὐ μέλει σοι ὅτι ἡ ἀδελφή μου μόνην με κατέλιπεν διακονεῖν; εἰπὲ οὖν αὐτῇ ἵνα μοι συναντιλάβηται) is played off Mary's silence. Social convention would dictate that family squabbles be suspended in the presence of a guest; however, Luke sets aside such conventions to focus on the conflict that now includes the κύριος ('lord').

At the beginning of the story Martha enjoyed an egalitarian relationship with the guest, but in appealing to Jesus against her sister, Martha trades the egalitarian relationship for a dependency relationship. On one level the reader might be tempted to interpret this story as an example of sibling rivalry which includes the customary request to the parent for justice. On another level, Martha's question to Jesus masks Luke's assumptions about women: that when offered the opportunity, women are male-identified and will seek counsel and help from a man rather than deal with their own relational conflict themselves. And in this vein, Martha, the independent, outspoken woman who argues for her own interests, relinquishes that role, not to speak again in the text. Martha had the first word, but Jesus will have the last—an effective example of the narrative technique of end stress. So, the Lukan Jesus functions not as a parental figure encouraging the women to settle the differences among themselves, but as *the* authority, the judge who determines a 'winner'.

Often lost in interpretations of this text is the fact that Mary's language is that of 'place' or 'position'. She is the focus of both direct address exchanges; she is talked about, but unlike Martha, Mary never speaks for her own interests.

Furthermore, how can one be a householder and a hostess (servant/one serving) and not be engaged in multiple tasks at the same time? These multiple roles and tasks serve to remind the reader that women's work was often invisible and ephemeral in both the private and public worlds. Cooking, cleaning, and hospitality left few artifacts and could be brokered only in a private setting. And while one might expect that

20. Corley, *Private Women*, pp. 109, 144.

hospitality negotiations would be conducted between the two women, not between the householder and the guest, Luke turns that expectation on its head. The fact that Martha aims her remarks at Jesus rather than her sister serves Luke's narrative strategy to undercut and limit Martha's διακονία. Therefore, this account in Luke's hands is about more than simply portraying an irritable Jesus, one used to visiting householders who were men, and whose familial world included the women of the house engaged in the serving so the men could converse, with wives positioned at the feet of their husbands, maintaining silence.

What is Luke saying here about the role of women in Christian communities? Luke's choice of silence for Mary renders her character and her 'position' defenseless and powerless in a world of 'speech'. Adrienne Rich has argued simply and persuasively this same point: 'Only where there is language is there world.'[21] Without a voice, Mary is objectified and treated like a piece of narrative furniture in the scene. In this way, Luke limits both women: Martha's διακονία is restricted to table service and does not extend to the ministry of proclamation (Luke uses the term διακονία for apostleship, restricted to men), and Mary's 'place' and 'silence' uphold the traditional (i.e. submissive) role for women.[22]

Fiorenza notes that the description of Mary, sitting at Jesus' feet, can have a double meaning: it can represent the traditional, silent wife, seated at the feet of her husband at table, and it can represent Mary the rabbinical student sitting at the feet of her teacher.[23] Luke could be playing with double-entendre here, but it seems unlikely that interpreting Mary as a rabbinical student fits the context of a meal or the prescriptive interpretation he offers. Corley notes that language specific to Lukan meals, food preparation, and table service is used in the text: 'portion' (μερίς) is a term frequently used to describe a particular dish at a meal; a 'few things/many things' often refers to dishes.[24] Since Luke portrays this scene as a meal, it seems more likely that he is invoking the silent wife model for Mary.

Anthropologists have long noted that hospitality, meals, and table-

21. Adrienne Rich, 'The Demon Lover', in B. Charlesworth Gelpi and A. Gelpi (eds.), *Adrienne Rich's Poetry and Prose* (Norton Critical Edition; New York: W.W. Norton, 1993), p. 32.

22. Corley, *Private Women*, p. 144.

23. Fiorenza, 'A Feminist Critical Interpretation', pp. 26-28.

24. Corley, *Private Women*, pp. 137-38. Neither Fiorenza nor Reid sees this as a 'meal' situation. See Fiorenza, 'A Feminist Critical Interpretation', p. 25; Barbara E. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part? Women in the Gospel of Luke* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1996), p. 147.

fellowship are complex social events and are important symbols of broader social relationships. In fact, food is a 'code' that functions as a language: 'If food is treated as a code, the message it encodes will be found in the pattern of social relations being expressed. The message is about different degrees of hierarchy, inclusion and exclusion, boundaries and transactions across the boundaries.'[25]

As Neyrey notes, 'Meals tell us about patterns of social relations, about social ranking, about group solidarity, and about economic transactions'.[26] If Douglas and Neyrey are right, then Luke is speaking here not only about social relations but about sexual politics (i.e. community expectations and boundary issues). Martha is, simultaneously, woman, sister, householder, διάκονος, and one who engages in conversation with Jesus. There are obviously socio-cultural conflicts among these diverse categories that strain prescribed roles and cross community boundaries. Woman and διάκονος work together, even woman and householder work together, but the combined roles of woman-householder, διάκονος, and interlocutor with Jesus do not work together in Lukan texts. On the other hand, a silent woman sitting at the feet of a man does not create tension or conflict in Lukan texts. One might assume that the tensions Martha's multiplicity of roles could create in a public setting are none the less minimized in a private setting. However, Martha's activity and roles, even in her own home at a private meal with a visitor, do not protect her (or women in Luke's community?) from rebuke.

This vignette of Jesus' visit to two sisters spins on relations of domination. Each character occupies a position in a hierarchy of relations: first, Jesus is the lord (κύριος), the one served, the one to whom Mary is subservient, the one to whom Martha relinquishes her independence, and the one who has the last and determinative word; second, Martha is the woman householder/sister/servant, the one who speaks for her own interests but whose speech is rejected and whose actions find little favor with Jesus; and third, Mary is the sister defined by silence and place, whose submission is praised. This hierarchy of relations operates from Luke's assumption that this way is the right way, the norm, and in turn, the hierarchy serves to structure ministry in the community by subordinating table service to preaching and proclamation.[27] In other words, the

25. Mary Douglas, 'Deciphering a Meal', in her *Implicit Meanings* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), p. 249.

26. Jerome H. Neyrey, 'Ceremonies in Luke-Acts', in *idem* (ed.), *The Social World of Luke–Acts: Models for Interpretation* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), p. 362.

27. Mary Rose D'Angelo, 'Women in Luke–Acts: A Redactional View', *JBL* 109 (1990), pp. 441-62 (442).

farther down the position on the hierarchical scale, the less threat to established and protected community norms.

Martha's appeal to the κύριος for support is Luke's construct for using the scene as a commentary on the role he thinks women should play in the community. Jesus' response to Martha (Lk. 10.41-42) first acknowledges both women (but the affirmation of Mary is directed to Martha) and offers Martha a riddle: the κύριος affirms that Martha is anxious and troubled, but cautions 'one thing is necessary'. This so-called 'affirmation' raises two issues. First, the term Luke uses for 'trouble' (θορυβάζω) is a term that implies trouble in or for a 'community', not trouble for an individual. Second, the textual problems in Lk. 10.41-42 are well documented.[28] Yet none of the variant readings obfuscates the conflict implicit in the text. Whether the riddle concerns one thing or many things, Mary's role is preferred. This text, then, may be read as descriptive of the kind of conflict implicit in communities where both imperial and theological hierarchies are used to determine the boundaries for ministry, proclamation, and leadership in faith communities. This is a world in which the community icons Martha, Mary, and Jesus are used as foils to institutionalize gender roles in relation to ministerial activity. In pragmatic form, gender and sexual politics converge so that the serving/sitting, speech/silence of the sisters are played off against one another with Jesus as the sole arbiter of appropriate actions for women—he sets the boundaries. Yet the Lukan Jesus functions as more than an icon here—he chooses between the two sisters and the roles they represent. Using Jesus in this way is Luke's attempt to cement and prescribe interpretation and praxis.

Ironically, if this is Luke's attempt to deal with contentious issues and dissenting positions regarding the role of women in community ministry, it must be noted that Martha's anxiety and 'trouble' can (and should) be read as the community's anxiety and trouble. Martha performs the role of διακονία, a role that serves as a metaphor for community service and leadership in ministry,[29] but she is denied proclamation; her speech is restricted to the private sphere, and its content is contentious. Luke does not allow Martha's διακονία to be equated with the lifestyle of

28. This text is plagued with six variant readings, among the most important are: 'one thing', 'a few things necessary', 'a few things are necessary, but really only one'. For a review see Talbert, *Reading Luke*, pp. 125-26; Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, pp. 452-53.

29. Fiorenza, *Diakonia*, pp. 89-92; Mary Rose D'Angelo, 'Women Partners in the New Testament', *JFSR* 6 (1990), pp. 65-86; and 'Women in Luke–Acts', pp. 441-61. Reid suggests that Martha's complaint is 'not about having too much work to do, but rather that she is being denied her role in ministerial service' (*Choosing the Better Part?*, p. 157).

discipleship, as he does with the male disciples in the gospel and the deacons in Acts. There do not seem to be parallel concerns about men who play multiple roles in the community; only concerns about women who assume a number of roles traditionally divvied between both men and women create the problem.

The text ends with a 'riddle' and it ends abruptly, but there is no mystery here. The 'riddle' is in fact an explicit statement that is neither ambiguous nor hesitant in its prescription about women. Luke includes women in diverse roles in the gospel but restricts them to roles acceptable to Roman imperial mores, roles that keep women at the margins of the very practice of community—proclamation and leadership. These restrictions not only construct, they serve to sustain and maintain gender hegemony in the community.

Mary Rose D'Angelo has suggested that Martha and Mary could have played another role in the experience and memory of early Christian communities, one that could not be erased from the tradition. Since both Luke and John include stories specific to these women, and in both it is Martha who is associated with διακονία (service) while Mary is designated as 'sister':

> behind these stories is the memory of two famous women who formed a missionary partnership, like the pairs in Mt. 10.1-4. They were known and remembered as Martha the *diakonos*...and Mary the sister (*adelphe*), just as Paul signed letters as Paul the *apostolos* with a companion designated as 'the brother' (*adelphos*).[30]

D'Angelo uses the construct of Adrian Rich's 'lesbian continuum' to think about these women. Rich's term seeks to expand the meaning of lesbian by emphasizing that the ways women bond are neither static or predictable.[31] She finds:

> a range—through each woman's life and throughout history—of woman-identified experience, not simply the fact that a woman has had or consciously desired genital sexual experience with another woman. If we expand it to embrace many more forms of primary intensity between and among women, including the sharing of a rich inner life, the bonding against male tyranny, the giving and receiving of practical and political

30. Mary Rose D'Angelo, 'Reconstructing "Real" Women from Gospel Literature: The Case of Mary Magdalene', in Ross S. Kraemer and Mary Rose D'Angelo (eds.), *Women and Christian Origins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 105-128 (107-108).

31. For commentary and critique on Rich's expanded definition of 'lesbian', see Bonnie Zimmerman, 'What Has Never Been: An Overview of Lesbian Feminist Criticism', in G. Greene and C. Kahn (eds.), *Making a Difference: Feminist Literary Criticism* (New York: Routledge, 1985), pp. 183-84.

> support...we begin to grasp breadths of female history and psychology which have lain out of reach as a consequence of limited, mostly clinical, definitions of *lesbianism*.[32]

Then, adapting Rich's definition to the Martha and Mary story, D'Angelo further speculates about the role of missionary pairs in early Christian communities and suggests:

> The title 'sister', which applies to Martha as well as Mary, may indicate kin, erotic partners and Christians in general, as well as specific roles in the mission. Thus in the case of Martha and Mary, sisterhood may represent but a shared commitment to the mission, rather than blood relationship... The references to Martha welcoming Jesus could also stand for a role in the community; like Prisca and Aquila, Philemon, and Nympha, Martha the *diakonos* may have been the host to a house-church along with 'Mary the sister'. At any rate, it seems that Martha and Mary were remembered primarily because of the roles they played as 'minister' and 'sister' in the (postresurrection) early Christian mission. The narratives in which they appear in Luke and John are less insights into the history and character of these particular women than vehicles for the authors' theological concerns and their assumptions or prescriptions about gender.[33]

D'Angelo's work forces scholars to consider and reconsider some of the nuts and bolts of the early Christian mission. The New Testament texts showcase male missionaries working in the Mediterranean, alone or in pairs. Rarely, male and female partners (Prisca and Aquilla) are mentioned in the mission. Even more rarely does the text mention women, alone or in pairs, with the technical language associated with ministry and leadership. Because Luke is notorious for introducing women characters but restricting them to the prescribed roles of διακονία, without accompanying speech or proclamation, D'Angelo's reading requires that we look more carefully at the way women are portrayed because the language of community can reveal more than the author expected or intended. Indeed, digging behind the text demonstrates that Luke's characterization of these women is drawn from stereotypes rather than from the roles women assumed as actual participants in communities. Stereotypical characterization creates textual objects, not subjects. Such characterization allows Luke to reduce the role of women in the community and reinscribe those roles according to prevailing patriarchal patterns and his theological interests.

Luke's ideological texture is both evident and complex: women did assume roles of leadership in the community, although some community

32. Adrienne Rich, 'Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Experience', in Gelpi and Gelpi (eds.), *Adrienne Rich's Poetry and Prose*, p. 217.

33. D'Angelo, 'Reconstructing 'Real' Women from Gospel Literature', p. 108.

leaders seem to prefer that women restrict themselves or are restricted to the conventional roles for women in the imperial culture. How restrictive policies served to stabilize or destabilize real communities and motivate or discourage, include or exclude real women can only be assessed by continuing to push the text and push behind the text for more clues, more textual shards. This pericope, then, is more than a conflict over social conventions, it is a contest embedded in sexual politics over the very nature of leadership in a community.[34]

Finally, some observations: first, the language of the text is at once simple and direct, but things are not necessarily what they seem. With short, compact phrases Luke introduces the three characters, and presents the conflict. Amazingly, almost one-half of the narrative is composed of direct address that is prescriptive rather than descriptive. In both cases of direct address, Martha's and Jesus', there is an appeal designed to bring about a change of circumstances. It is more than a war of words, it is glimpse at the way a community 'talks about' issues as basic as participation (community roles), ministry, and leadership.

Second, it is ironic that a text so concerned with prescribing roles explicitly ignores the boundary issues created by pairing unmarried women with an unmarried man in a private setting.

Third, one of the reasons this text has been such a mystery for scholars is that there seem to be opposing metaphors at work in the narrative. On the one hand is the metaphor of speech and action that, in speaking for its own position, brings conflict to the fore. On the other hand there is the metaphor of silence and listening that imposes its own restraints. In the story of Martha and Mary the reader is left to wrestle with opposing positions and opposing models; in favoring one there is the risk of abandoning the other.

Fourth, just as there seem to be opposing metaphors at work in this text, there are opposing systems of convictions. One system of convictions supports the 'serving/ministry/speech' model, the other the 'listening/silence' model. Both convictional systems are sustainable and necessary in a faith community as long as one is not seen as subservient to the other; they are equal parts of the whole.

Fifth, the question remains: how are we to understand Martha and Mary, their memory, roles, and importance in developing Christianity?

34. Reid proposes that Martha's request to Jesus represents the anguished struggle of women in visible ministries, abandoned by sister-ministers who were persuaded that the appropriate role for women was silent listening. This argument suggests the kinds of conflict that restrictive policies engender in evolving communities. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part?*, p. 158.

Are they a missionary pair, are they kin, or do they represent a same-sex partnership engaged in διακονία in a local house church? We may never know the answer, but the issues themselves require renewed attention to women working together in various parts of the Roman Empire during the imperial period.

Every community takes part in the tension of the already/not yet as well as the experience of both/and. Communities, like individuals, often become what they understand themselves to be. This quick glimpse of Luke freezes the narrative, catching it in the middle of its story, in the middle of dealing with conflicts over sexual politics, cultural expectations, prescribed roles, boundary and leadership issues. What a community cares about and struggles with, it talks about—but the 'talk' here is from only one side. What we are missing is 'talk' from the other side, or as Paul Harvey would say, 'the rest of the story'.

# Re-viewing Luke 15 with Arab Christian Women

Carol Schersten LaHurd

## *An Experiential Introduction*

With the proliferation of volumes containing biblical exegesis from around the globe, contemporary biblical scholars are now more able to share each other's readings of biblical texts from our diverse social locations. But sometimes we are individually privileged to learn from opportunities to shift our own social locations. In September 1992 my husband and I and our 17-year-old daughter moved from Minneapolis, Minnesota, to Sana'a, Yemen, on the southern tip of the Arabian peninsula, to begin five months of teaching and research. Along with experiencing daily power blackouts and water-purification, we plunged into a world where on the streets of the capital men literally outnumbered women by one hundred to one. Those women who did brave the public realm wore the traditional *hijab* of black coat and head covering, and upwards of 75 per cent also wore face veils. At first my daughter and I found the strangeness of the culture and the stares we attracted intimidating, especially after hearing the harsh warning from some Westerners that the city was not safe for unaccompanied women.

Within a few months, however, we had defied the advice (from people, it turned out, who themselves had barely engaged Yemeni culture) and learned to take buses and taxis and to enjoy exploring on foot this exotic city with its well-preserved medieval quarter. But we also continued to experience frequent challenges to our American-bred assumptions about gender as we met women who had begun arranged marriages at age 15 and women who endured their husbands' decisions to take second wives. In 1992 women comprised only 20 per cent of the country's university enrollment. Northern Yemeni women could indeed drive cars (not yet the case in neighboring Saudi Arabia), but their peripheral vision must have been partially blocked by their culturally mandated head coverings. Yemeni women could attend the university and even study engineering, but with a bachelor's degree they risked trading education for marriageability. Foreign women such as my

daughter and I could interact fully with the male and female parts of this society, but we learned to dress modestly and walk a respectable two paces behind my husband. Some days we longed for the comfortable streets of Minneapolis.

It took a Halloween care package to teach us an enduring lesson about the degree to which our assumptions about gender dynamics are culture-specific. Our friends back in Minneapolis had carefully wrapped treats and decorations in newspaper pages ready for recycling. Since the crumpled pages were just a few weeks old, we read them, hungry for news of home. The front page story outlined the thus-far fruitless quest to identify and apprehend a man suspected of raping a half-dozen women over the past few months. These American women victims had not been safe in their own homes. Many thousand miles away my daughter and I realized we had mainly to endure only curious glances, and we learned something of the relativity surrounding women's issues in a global context.

## *A Methodological Introduction*

Until our five-month stay in Yemen, I would not have considered observation of gender rights and roles in an Arab Muslim country to be a resource for analysis of gospel texts. Prior to that 1992 experience, my ongoing exegesis of Lk. 15 had consisted of library research and examining the parables of lost sheep, lost coin, and lost son through the eyes of Arab Christian women. This study of Lk. 15 had in part been inspired by the work of Kenneth E. Bailey, who has used his linguistic skills and a long tenure at the Near East School of Theology in Beirut to reinterpret Lukan parables in the light of medieval Syriac, Coptic, and Arabic translations of Greek New Testament texts and with reference to the testimony of Arab Christian men in villages in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq.[1] I share Bailey's assumption that Middle Easterners in their contemporary cultural settings have much to contribute to analysis of the world of biblical narrative, and I have learned much from Bailey's literary, cultural, and theological observations. However, Bailey acknowledges interviewing only male informants from Arab Christian communities. My feminist commitment to hearing women's voices encouraged me to test his exegesis by interviewing Christian women who had come to the United States from Egypt and Lebanon.

1. Bailey's work includes *Poet and Peasant: A Literary-Cultural Approach to the Parables in Luke* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), and *Finding the Lost: Cultural Keys to Luke 15* (St Louis: Concordia, 1992).

Queries at Maronite and Melchite Catholic, Antiochian Orthodox, and Coptic Orthodox churches in Minneapolis and St Paul yielded phone interviews with about a dozen women. I then met individually with five Arab Christian immigrant women in their homes during the summer of 1991. Two were from villages near Beirut, three from Egyptian villages. Their time in the United States ranged from seven to thirty years, and all but one were married with children. All had some education beyond high school and were sufficiently fluent in English to permit sophisticated conversation. During each individual extended interview I explained the purpose of my project, read aloud with them the NRSV translation of Lk. 15, and worked through a set of open-ended questions, such as 'What do you think of the father's reaction to his son's return in Lk. 15.20-24? Is any part of it unexpected? Why? How typical is this behavior for a Middle Eastern village father and leader?' Although their answers varied, all five seemed delighted to be asked to share their opinions about the text and eager to relate the texts to their first-hand experience of family life in Egypt and Lebanon.

This combination of library research and interviews with Arab Christian women led to a paper for a November 1991 session of the 'Women in the Biblical World' section of the Society of Biblical Literature and to a 1994 journal article.[2] But it was the 1992 experience of living among and studying the lives of Arab Muslim women in Yemen that prompted me to re-examine not only the Lk. 15 parables, but also the interpretations of the primarily male American and European biblical critics, the interpretations of Western[3] female readers (especially self-identified feminist scholars), and the assumptions of those using cultural anthropology to describe the gender dynamics displayed in biblical narratives. Although Yemen is separated from the world of the first century by time, Islamization, and some minimal Ottoman Turkish influence, its culture is much less modernized and Westernized than many of the Mediterranean villages being used as the anthropological basis for honor–shame dynamics and other gender models currently being applied to biblical texts.[4] Northern Yemen until the early 1960s was governed by imams, Islamic spiritual and political leaders who kept the country almost totally isolated from the developed West. Although the

2. Carol Schersten LaHurd, 'Rediscovering the Lost Women in Luke 15', *BTB* 24 (1994), pp. 66-76.

3. 'Western' here means cultures of Greek/European origins as opposed to Middle Eastern/Arab cultures.

4. See e.g., Richard Rohrbaugh, 'A Dysfunctional Family and Its Neighbors (Luke 15.11b-32)', in George Shillington (ed.), *Jesus and His Parables* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1997), pp. 141-64.

capital Sana'a now has cars, television, computers, and coeducational universities, much of the culture retains its medieval character. Fortunately for the Western researcher the American Institute for Yemen Studies in Sana'a houses development agency reports and graduate theses on Yemenite topics. These print resources, along with observation in a variety of social settings and structured interviews with women and male scholars of Islam, allowed me to study the current family and social dynamics in Yemen and to apply observations to the larger gender issues evoked by the parables in Lk. 15.

Further, this bringing together of traditional biblical research, interviews, and experience living in the Middle East also sheds light on two issues of major concern in Lukan studies: the treatment of women in Luke–Acts and the portrayal of Jews and Judaism in Luke–Acts. Various studies during the past two decades have emphasized the attention Luke devotes to women characters in comparison with the other gospels, a phenomenon that some have equated with favorable treatment of women by the editor of this gospel.[5] More recently feminist scholars in particular have questioned this simple equation and have asserted that Luke moves his women characters 'to the margins of the community and especially of its leadership'.[6] Furthermore, although Luke mentions women traveling with Jesus and the disciples in 8.1-3, he assigns them restricted roles.[7] This 'double message'[8] of preserved narrative traditions about women along with constricted female leadership and voice in Luke–Acts merits further consideration in the interpretation of the parables of Lk. 15.

5. One of the earliest and most comprehensive of such studies is Leonard Swidler's *Biblical Affirmations of Woman* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1979). For a summary of Swidler's findings, see Jane E. Via, 'Women in the Gospel of Luke', in Ursula King (ed.), *Women in the World's Religions, Past and Present* (New York: Paragon, 1987), pp. 38-55 (38).

6. Jane Schaberg, 'Luke', in Carol A. Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe (eds.), *The Women's Bible Commentary* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), pp. 275-304.

7. Mary Rose D'Angelo, 'Women in Luke–Acts: A Redactional View', *JBL* 109 (1990), pp. 441-61 (442). See also her '(Re)Presentations of Women in the Gospel of Matthew and Matthew and Luke–Acts', in Ross Shepard Kraemer and Mary Rose D'Angelo (eds.), *Women and Christian Origins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 171-95; and Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, 'A Feminist Critical Interpretation for Liberation: Martha and Mary: Luke 10.38-42', *Religion and Intellectual Life* 3 (1986), pp. 21-35. Also relevant is Clarice J. Martin, 'The Acts of the Apostles', in Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (ed.), *Searching the Scriptures: A Feminist Introduction* (New York: Crossroad, 1994), II, pp. 763-99.

8. Turid Karlsen Seim, *The Double Message: Patterns of Gender in Luke–Acts* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994), p. 259.

Similarly, scholarly assessment of the portrayal of Jews and Judaism in Luke–Acts is also mixed, and it attends to Lukan attitudes toward such phenomena as the Pharisees, Jerusalem, the Temple, and God's covenant with Abraham.[9] Luke includes the 'grumbling' scribes and Pharisees (v. 2) in the narrative audience for the three parables of ch. 15. Because his redaction encourages the implied reader to link these Jewish leaders with the elder son of the chapter's final parable, this study will examine possible interpretations of that relationship. In the case of each parable and parable character, the varied scholarly views will be scrutinized in the light of my interviews with Arab Christian women and my observation of women's lives in Yemen.

### *Re-viewing the Woman and the Lost Coin*

The middle section of Luke's gospel in 9.51–19.27 follows Jesus and the disciples as they journey toward Jerusalem and Jesus' eventual death. The section contains many of the parables unique to Luke. In Lk. 15 the disciples are joined by tax collectors, sinners, Pharisees, and scribes as Jesus tells the three parables of a lost sheep, a lost coin, and a lost son. The women I interviewed in 1991 showed little interest when I discussed with them Jesus' apparent use of a female as an image for God in the second parable, Lk. 15.8-10.[10] Instead, their comments focused on the act of searching and reasons for the intensity of the search. They assumed that this woman was married with a family and that her role was to guard the money 'earned by men' and to 'keep everything in order'. They attributed her aggressive searching not to any intrinsic monetary value of the coin itself, but rather to the woman's desire to restore the set of coins to completeness and to fulfill cultural expectations of her as a good wife and housekeeper.

9. Representative examples include Robert L. Brawley, *Luke–Acts and the Jews: Conflict, Apology, and Conciliation* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987); Jack T. Sanders, *The Jews in Luke–Acts* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987); and Joseph B. Tyson, *Luke, Judaism, and the Scholars: Critical Approaches to Luke–Acts* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999).

10. Specifically I asked them: What do you think of the meaning of the ten silver coins? Of the one lost coin? How typical is the woman's response in v. 9? From v. 10 it appears Luke is having the woman stand for God in the parable. How would Arabs react to this female image of God? Later, in Jn 10, Jesus calls himself the 'good shepherd', possibly drawing on the parable of the lost sheep in Lk. 15.1-7. Do you think Jesus might have also referred to himself as the 'good housewife', drawing on Lk. 15.8-10? Why or why not?

One Egyptian woman marveled at the realism[11] of the oil lamp and of the need for sweeping, as she too had experienced life in a pre-electric, arid climate. Even in daytime, she explained, the darkness of a house with few small windows would necessitate a lamp for such a search. She speculated that the broom might have been made of a date palm branch, as its very strong twigs are effective for dealing with the dust that blows into village homes. The insights of my Egyptian interviewee prompt the observation that, in this Lk. 15 case, a broom normally used to sweep dust out of one's house becomes the woman's means of recovering what has been lost. Thus, a cultural detail culled from the interpretation of an Arab Christian woman highlights the extraordinary nature of the circumstances for finding what is lost.[12]

All the women interviewed agreed that the housekeeper's celebration with female friends and neighbors was completely normal, as women act as a support network and their homes serve as the same type of gathering place as coffee shops do for men. Indeed, one said it was quite possible that the neighbor women had been asked to join in the search. Another added that the woman's rejoicing was very believable and commented, 'Whenever we lose something we pray both before and after finding it'. In contrast, notes Barbara Reid, some modern Western critics have criticized Luke's depiction of the woman's seeking and her celebration with female neighbors as 'trivial'.[13] It is in response to such readings that combining the Arab Christian women's perspectives with observation of the lives of Yemeni women is most revealing. These two sources applied to the woman and the lost coin and all three Lk. 15 parables yield larger insights about gender segregation, gender roles, women's power, and family honor.

All three parables at the surface level reinforce modern notions about gender segregation and role division in the biblical world (and indeed in much of the Mediterranean-Arabian world today). Bruce Malina and Jerome Neyrey use Lk. 15 as an illustration of Luke's placement of women in 'private, domestic space' and conclude that in Lk. 15.3-10 the 'parables balance each other in terms of man/outside and female/inside'.[14] Such spatial division is still the norm in northern Yemen, as

11. Bernard Brandon Scott notes that 'the parable's realism and structure sweep the hearer up in the woman's seeking...' See *Hear Then the Parable* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), p. 311.

12. For this insight I am indebted to series editor Amy-Jill Levine.

13. Barbara E. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part? Women in the Gospel of Luke* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press, 1996), p. 185.

14. Bruce J. Malina, and Jerome H. Neyrey, 'Honor and Shame in Luke–Acts: Pivotal Values of the Mediterranean World', in J.H. Neyrey (ed.), *The Social World of*

noted in the introduction. Taxi drivers, waiters, and shopkeepers are exclusively male, although women do serve increasingly as teachers and office workers. Even domestic space is subject to gender division, as most houses and flats have a public foyer leading to a formal sitting room and a separate foyer into the kitchen, bedrooms, family sitting room, and so on. With that arrangement, men and women of the family can simultaneously entertain friends with minimal mixing by the two genders. Indeed, sex-segregated socializing is the norm except for immediate family gatherings.

If the first-century society depicted in the Lukan parables is at all similar to life in Yemeni cities and villages, then the absence of major women characters in parables describing the public realm, such as the 'good Samaritan' in Lk. 10, should not be surprising. According to Nicola Slee, of the 108 human actors in Luke's parables only 9 are female, and so the 'surface domination of male characterization and the anonymity of women in the parables must not be brushed aside too easily'.[15] What this phenomenon may represent, even more than omission of women, is the scanty representation of the entire domestic arena. Not only does the biblical text often ignore private family life, but Palestinian archaeology until recently attended only to public and urban structures and artifacts. 'Consequently, it offered virtually nothing that could be used to reconstruct the social role of women or anyone else belonging to the nonurban, nonelite, or nonspecialist segments of the population.'[16]

If it is rare to find social description of women's lives in either biblical texts or in supporting archaeology, then Lk. 15.8-10 is an exception: a window into a positive aspect of the experience of first-century women.[17] In a pre-banking culture this woman in Lk. 15 is trusted with the responsibility of guarding the family income and so accepts responsibility for recovery of the coin 'that I had lost' (Lk. 15.9).[18] Her celebration with female neighbors may be viewed as a second-class event by some Western commentators, but for Luke's implied readers, the Arab Christian interviewees, and women in Yemen today, such gatherings provide

*Luke–Acts: Models for Interpretation* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), pp. 59-78 (62).

15. Susan Durber, 'The Female Reader of the Parables of the Lost', *JSNT* 45 (1992), pp. 59-78 (69).

16. Carol Meyers, *Discovering Eve: Ancient Israelite Women in Context* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 18.

17. Another such positive example is the parable of the woman kneading dough in Lk. 13.20-21 (and Mt. 13.33).

18. Bailey, *Finding the Lost*, pp. 102-103. Both Bailey's male and my female interviewees assumed that this woman was part of a family.

entertainment, fellowship, and intergenerational education. And contrary to my initial assumptions as a Western feminist, such gender segregation in Yemen does not necessarily result in low self-esteem for Yemeni women. In my informal observation, they often appeared accepting of gender-role division and took immense pleasure and support from their various female networks. In fact, part of that pleasure may derive from the degree of control Yemeni women have to segregate themselves from men. Men must carefully announce their entry to warn female gatherings, even in their own homes. By contrast, women serving food to a male gathering can usually enter with veil and have access to both men's and women's conversation and parties.[19]

Additionally, the varying degrees of gender segregation in a place such as Yemen urge caution in drawing conclusions about such segregation in the world of Luke's narrative. Within north Yemen there is significant diversity in women's dress and freedom of movement as indicators of the extent of public/private divisions. In 1992 my Yemeni women friends suggested that dress in the larger cities may have been more influenced than were rural areas by Ottoman Turkish customs during occupation, and so women tended to wear black coats and veils and generally spent less time outside the home.[20] In rural areas women are more often in brightly colored dresses (with leggings), and fewer wear full face veils, perhaps because their culture was less exposed to (or less interested in emulating) the Turks and because many of them need to be involved in gathering grass, getting water, or tending sheep and goats. Even greater diversity is noticeable when one compares north and south Yemen. The graduate student women I interviewed at the University of Aden, perhaps because of their region's exposure to British and Soviet cultures during the last century, were more likely than their northern-educated counterparts to dress in Western style, be comfortable with gender mixing, and express impatience with domestic pressures that limit education and careers for women.

Knowing that such variation exists in modern gender-segregated

19. Carla Makhlouf, *Changing Veils: Women and Modernisation in North Yemen* (London: Croom Helm, 1979), p. 28.

20. Anthropologist Andrea Rugh describes increasing modesty in dress for both men and women in Egypt as a result of the Ottoman Turkish period in this region, roughly the four hundred years leading up to World War I. See *Reveal and Conceal: Dress in Contemporary Egypt* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986), pp. 113, 157. John L. Esposito, *Islam: The Straight Path* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 98, also sees assimilation of Persian and Byzantine practice in Islamic veiling and seclusion. In Yemen, Turkish occupation during the Middle Ages affected urban areas more than remote mountain villages, many of which remained independent.

societies should suggest caution about assuming that such segregation in Lk. 15 was all-pervasive in first-century Palestine (especially since even in Luke there are important cases of gender-mixing, such Jesus' visit to the home of Mary and Martha). Carol Meyers points out the limitations of assuming such public/private dualism for pre-monarchy Israel, including the danger of ignoring differences among historical periods and places.[21] Writing about the social-historical context for the gospels and the likely inclusion of women among Jesus' meal companions, Kathleen Corley cites recent anthropological studies in the Middle East as evidence that 'peasant women have been generally far less restricted in their activities than women of the upper classes'.[22] Even though Lk. 15 has been described as creating a world where men and women are divided into public and private domains,[23] both biblical research and observation in Yemen support the possibility that the woman who found the coin celebrated with women friends by choice, and not simply because a male-dominated culture restricted her mobility.

Besides the matter of gender segregation, re-viewing Luke's story of the woman and the lost coin illuminates the often-unseen power of women in such locations as contemporary northern Yemen and Luke's narrative world. Susan Durber argues that Luke's author and the Lukan Jesus speak to a male audience.[24] Similarly Jane Schaberg agrees that Luke–Acts is androcentric and asserts that while Luke's gospel may include more female characters than the other gospels, they are given conventional female Roman roles and not presented as equals.[25] There is ample textual evidence for both sets of arguments. However, much of Durber's negative assessment of the text and particularly of women's

21. Meyers, *Discovering Eve*, p. 32.

22. Kathleen Corley, 'Jesus' Table Practice: Dining with "Tax Collectors and Sinners" including Women' (*SBLSP*; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), p. 453. Her sources include Henry Habib Ayrout, *The Egyptian Peasant* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), pp. 78-79, 108, 121-22; Eric R. Wolf, *Peasants* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1966), pp. 46-47; and Carmen Diana Deere, *Household and Class Relations: Peasants and Landlords in Northern Peru* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 109-10, 208-209, 284.

23. See Malina and Rohrbaugh, 'Honor and Shame', p. 62.

24. Susan Durber, 'Female Reader', pp. 59-78. Arland Hultgren in *The Parables of Jesus: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000) reads the Greek of Lk. 15.3 and Lk. 15.8 as evidence that both the parable of the lost sheep and that of the lost coin are addressed to men, i.e., to the original listeners of Jesus' words, the Pharisees and scribes of Lk. 15.1-2 (p. 65).

25. Jane Schaberg, 'Luke', pp. 279, 282, 291. For varied assessments of Luke–Acts and women, see also Seim, *The Double Message*; and Reid, *Choosing the Better Part?*

place in the parables of Lk. 15 is rooted in very Western cultural assumptions about what constitutes status and power for both women and men. Bringing to these same texts the perspectives of Christian and Muslim Arab women demonstrates the degree to which Western feminist interpreters are reading from a particularly Western cultural bias. As Edward Said has noted about Western journalists and scholars of the 'Orient', so also must Western biblical scholars acknowledge that they stand in a 'community of interpretation' that influences how they analyze gender roles and relationships.[26]

Although it would be difficult from any cultural perspective to argue for the presence of a positive female image in the father and two sons parable, the woman and the lost coin story is a different matter. Durber calls all the Lk. 15 parables 'sexist' as they 'come from and speak to a patriarchal culture...and construct for themselves a male reader'.[27] Comparing the lost sheep and lost coin parables, she argues that the male reader identifies with the shepherd, while 'the woman is just a woman' going about her 'domestic task'. 'The two parables are not equal parallels, but are quite different in their relation to the reader.'[28] While it is true that the two parables are not parallel in how they address the implied male reader, what is less clear is Durber's implication that the text, for either a male or a female reader, presents the woman's work as lower in status than that of the male shepherd.[29] Placing theological content within the domestic sphere would not be surprising in northern Yemen today, where orderly household management and effective rearing of children appear often to have equal worth with the more typically male role of earning the family income in the public realm.

Closely related to women's status is women's power. In a survey of recent applications of social science models to biblical texts, Carolyn Osiek has commented on the special and often hidden functioning of women's power in gender-segregated societies.[30] Living among Yemeni women in 1992, I observed the exercise of both subversive strategies and positive power. The former included such practices as manipulation of

26. Edward Said, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World* (New York: Pantheon, 1981), pp. 41-43.

27. Durber, 'Female Reader', p. 70.

28. Durber, 'Female Reader', p. 71.

29. Durber argues, 'even given that Lk. 15 gives women an unusually high profile, we still have only an image of a woman in a domestic situation (in the parable of the Lost Coin) and of women as whores (in the parable of the Prodigal Son)' ('Female Reader', p. 71).

30. Carolyn Osiek, 'The Social Sciences and the Second Testament: Problems and Challenges', BTB 22 (1992), pp. 88-95 (92).

rules for female dress and seclusion, pressure from mothers-in-law to halt domestic role-sharing by their sons as unmanly, and even the use of gossip to destroy a marriage viewed as unfavorable for one's child or family. Positive power (and indeed authority) took the form of directing children's school work, sharing information among women's networks to influence family decision-making, and the actual selection, if not final ceremonial approval, of wives for their sons. Corley is correct that 'it seems unwise to romanticize the "egalitarian" nature of peasant life'[31] whether in gospel narratives or 1992 Yemen. Unquestionably there is oppression of women in present-day Middle Eastern societies (as there is in Western industrialized societies). However, regarding specific gender dynamics, modern Western observers need to acknowledge that women and men socialized and educated in the industrialized West may not be the best judges of what constitutes oppression. These observers can also learn from Andrea Rugh's anthropological study of modern Islamic Egypt how much power women hold within nuclear and extended families as the 'central figures in the central institution of the society'. In such cultures women 'control those things that are most valued by the men—sex, honor, children, a happy well-organized household'.[32]

The gender considerations prompted by the testimony and lives of Arab women lead not only to a less superficial analysis of women's actual power in biblical and modern Mediterranean and Arab cultures, but also to new insight into the female as God-image in the parable of the lost coin. As much as modern women readers[33] might wish to embrace this image, others have cited textual and historical constraints upon seeing a direct parallel in Lk. 15 between God-as-shepherd and God-as-housekeeper. Durber argues that the 'more joy in heaven' (15.7) associated with the shepherd's celebration in contrast to the 'joy in the presence of the angels of God' (15.10) associated with the woman suggests that 'the woman can less easily be compared with God *him*self'.[34] However, she fails to provide narrative evidence for elevating the phrase in 15.7 over that in 15.10, and instead quotes Crossan that there is no tradition of Jesus saying, 'I am the good housewife'.[35] (Of course it must be noted that in only a small part of the New Testament tradition, most notably Jn 10, does Jesus refer to himself as 'the good shepherd'.) In

31. Corley, 'Jesus' Table Practice', p. 456.

32. Andrea B. Rugh, *Family in Contemporary Egypt* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1985), p. 286.

33. See, e.g. Via, 'Women', p. 48; and Reid, *Choosing the Better Part?* p. 185.

34. Durber, 'Female Reader', p. 70.

35. Durber, 'Female Reader', p. 70, cites J.D. Crossan, *In Parables: The Challenge of the Historical Jesus* (London: Harper & Row, 1973).

contradistinction to Durber's reading of 15.10, Arland Hultgren believes the proper translation of the preposition ἐπί as 'in the sight of' or 'in the presence of' suggests that 'the whole company of heaven', both God and the angels, are here seen as rejoicing.[36]

Given modern assumptions about women's secondary status and women's limited power in the types of cultures depicted in Lk. 15, it is not surprising that the lost coin parable has often received a different theological treatment from the lost sheep story. But if the preceding analysis of women's positive status and power in the domestic realm is applied, then one could argue that like the shepherd and the father in Lk. 15 the woman also has power to go in search of the lost. If the woman were truly weak, then her story, sandwiched between the two male-centered stories, might also be seen as less significant than those of her male counterparts. But the woman is not weak and, like the shepherd who seeks the one sheep to complete the flock of one hundred and the father who seeks both sons to make the family whole, she seeks and finds the one coin to complete the ten. In a culture where men and women value household, this woman has the power to restore wholeness and order and to celebrate that restoration.[37]

### *Re-viewing the Father and Two Sons*

In response to the chapter's major parable, I asked the five Arab Christian women to reflect on how they might have reacted as parent of the two sons and to assess how typical or unexpected were the various characters' behaviors in light of their own experience of the Middle Eastern Arab family.[38] In several cases their answers differed from frequently voiced scholarly views. For example, in recent critical literature there is much discussion of the plausibility and legality (in the context of first-century Palestinian Judaism) of the younger son's request for early inheritance.[39] Kenneth Bailey reports that in 15 years of asking Arab

36. Hultgren, *The Parables of Jesus*, pp. 63-64.

37. Rugh, *Family in Contemporary Egypt*, p. 286.

38. The interview questions included: If you were the parent involved, how would you react to the younger son's request in Lk. 15.12? What do you think of the father's reaction to his son's return in 15.20-24? Is any part of it unexpected? Why? How typical is this behavior of an Arab village father and leader?

39. See e.g. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke X–XXIV* (AB 28A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), p. 1087; F. Bovon and G. Rouiller, *Exegesis: Problems of Method and Exercises in Reading (Genesis 22 and Luke 15)* (trans. D.G. Miller; Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1978), p. 52. Scott, *Hear Then the Parable*, finds the father's granting of this request 'foolhardy' as it jeopardizes the family honor (p. 111). For a

Christian men, all found this 'an unheard-of request'.[40] (It is worth pondering how Western parents might react to a demand more final and total than today's typical adult child's need for financial help with graduate school tuition or the down payment on a first house.) Although my interviewees found the request uncommon, 'arrogant', and the equivalent of rejecting the family, they observed that it is typical for the youngest child to be lazy and irresponsible. None of the women said that the younger son's request was 'unheard of' or illegal, in either first-century or modern times.

On the other hand, a Lebanese woman emphasized the younger son's cleverness. While the Egyptian women had known the story's vernacular title as 'The Lost Son', one Lebanese woman offered that she grew up hearing the title in Arabic as 'The Clever Son'. The Arabic word *shattar*, meaning 'sly, cunning, scoundrel, clever', can also be a play on the root verb *shatr*, to 'divide, sever, separate'. Thus the prodigal, *al ibn al-shattar*, is 'the clever [and the separated] son'. Without any prompting from me, this Lebanese woman talked about the dual suitability of the title, since the son was both estranged from his family for a time and smart enough to anticipate that his father would not reject him if he returned home in disgrace. At least he could look forward to being his father's hired hand, an attractive alternative to starving while tending pigs.

Although this parable's common English title emphasizes the character of the younger son, many commentators have observed that the parable's chief character is the father. The most striking part of Bailey's findings, based on his interviews with Arab men, is the 'unexpected' quality of the father's unconditional acceptance and love of the errant son.[41] Bailey and others have described the father's running in v. 20 as contrary to the dignity of a Middle Eastern patriarch.[42] Referring to the father's welcome of the younger son in 15.20, Bernard Brandon Scott says the lines have the 'quality of burlesque' and claims that the 'father goes overboard, and his behavior is out of character for an eastern master/patron, for it violates his honor'. Moreover, he cites sources that find the father's affectionate kissing 'inappropriate' for a father in this context. And last, Scott wonders why the father fails to test 'the son's

detailed discussion of relevant references in the Old Testament and *Mishnah*, see Hultgren, *The Parables of Jesus*, pp. 73-75.

40. Bailey, *Finding the Lost*, pp. 112-14.

41. Bailey, *Poet and Peasant*, pp. 181-82, 206.

42. Bailey, *Finding the Lost*, pp. 144-46; Eduard Schweizer, *The Good News According to Luke* (trans. D.E. Green; Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1984), p. 248; Bovon and Rouiller, *Exegesis*, p. 57.

sincerity'.[43] The Christian Arab women, when asked whether any part of the father's behavior was unexpected in the light of their experience of the Middle Eastern family, all answered negatively and provided stories about how the family serves as location of unconditional care. When I suggested the father's running might have seemed undignified, all the women disagreed. One replied that the father's running signals his welcome to the returning younger son. Another said it demonstrates a natural reaction to his surprise that the son for whom he was mourning is now alive. The son is the father's 'own blood', and the 'loving heart of the father' forgets the wrong and the lost money and thinks only about getting his son back. 'The son is the fortune', one offered, and thus is taken back with no questions asked. In contrast to Scott's surprise that the father had not demanded proof of the younger son's sincerity, one Egyptian woman said that wanting the son to have learned his lesson is 'a very Western thought' (i.e. Greek/European, not Middle Eastern/Arab; cf. n. 3 above).

Not only do my Arab Christian interviewees differ from some commentators on the plausibility and appropriateness of the father's behavior, the socio-cultural perspectives of the interviewees (and perspectives culled from the family patterns I observed in Yemen) do not fully match the anthropological models of honor and shame as applied to Lk. 15. Assumptions about honor and shame dynamics arising from the use of contemporary Mediterranean and Arab models appear in increasing numbers of gospel studies. Books by Bruce Malina, Jerome Neyrey, and Richard Rohrbaugh are supplemented by journal articles.[44] Studies on Lk. 15 in particular note how the behaviors of both sons and even of the father may bring shame to themselves and to the family.[45] Bailey and Malina and Rohrbaugh note that the father first risks 'dishonorable' (i.e. undignified) behavior by running to meet the lost son in 15.20. But both sources explain that he does so to protect his son from possible attack by other villagers and to use the kiss, robe, ring, and sandals as symbols that

43. Scott, *Hear Then the Parable*, p. 117. The sources he cites here are Bailey, *Poet and Peasant*, p. 183, and T.W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979; London: SCM Press, 1957), p. 288.

44. See David B. Gowler, 'Characterization in Luke: A Socio-Narratological Approach', *BTB* 19 (1989), pp. 54-62; Halvor Moxnes, '*BTB* Readers Guide: Honor and Shame', *BTB* 23 (1993), pp. 167-76.

45. Kenneth Bailey's very detailed cultural study of Lk. 15, *Finding the Lost* (pp. 121-25), draws upon rabbinic literature to explore the three ways the son will expose '*himself* to public shame' (and not simply dishonor) when he returns to his father's village, and Bailey speculates about the potentially hostile reaction from which the father must protect him, an issue addressed below.

the errant son is under the father's protection.[46] Rohrbaugh accounts for the villagers' hostility by describing how the earlier behavior of both the younger son and his generous father had threatened the stability of a community based on family land ownership. The father's welcome staves off mocking and even physical attack of the son who returns with a record of shame even deeper than that acquired by having asked for an early inheritance.[47] Such an explanation was not even hinted at by the Lebanese and Egyptian Christian women, who speculated that the father may have run out to signal to the son that he was welcome to return.

Further, the challenge–riposte hypothesis of dealing with potential loss of honor has been applied to the father's responses to the potentially shaming actions and words of both his sons.[48] Malina and Rohrbaugh explain that in honor–shame cultures a challenging word or act that 'seeks to undermine the honor of another person' calls for a 'response that answers in equal measure or ups the ante and thereby challenges in return. Both positive (gifts, compliments) and negative (insults, dares) challenges must be answered to avoid a serious loss of face'.[49] It is difficult to know whether the father's interactions with the two sons qualify (i.e. as exchanges between equals), but many commentators do interpret the two sons' behaviors as challenges to the father's and the family's honor. As noted above, the younger son presents multiple attacks: asking early for his share of the inheritance, wasting part of the family fortune, and violating purity codes by working with pigs.[50] Drawing on his knowledge of Arab culture and biblical interpretation, Bailey describes the angry responses that are expected of the father, especially to maintain family honor when the son returns in disgrace.[51] As the son prepares his speech, the father preempts his attempt to become a hireling and reconciles with him.[52] According to Bailey, Middle Eastern Christian exegetes more so than Western ones have seen that the son drops his plea to become a hired hand (v. 21) because the father's love and forgiveness have 'liberated' the son's heart.[53]

46. Bailey, *Finding the Lost*, p. 143; Malina and Rohrbaugh, *Social Science Commentary*, speculate that the villagers would be especially angered by the son's having lost 'his share of the family's property to non-Israelites' (pp. 371-72).

47. Rohrbaugh, 'Dysfunctional Family', pp. 148-57.

48. Bailey, *Finding the Lost*, pp. 144-46.

49. Malina and Rohrbaugh, *Social Science Commentary*, pp. 306-307. See also, Malina and Neyrey, 'Honor and Shame', pp. 29-38.

50. See Scott, *Hear Then the Parable*, pp. 114-15.

51. Bailey, *Finding the Lost*, pp. 112-14, 143.

52. Bailey, *Finding the Lost*, pp. 143, 152-53, 163.

53. Bailey, *Finding the Lost*, p. 153. The early Christian Syriac authors he cites are Ibn al-Tayyib (d. 1043 CE) and Ibn al-Salibi (d. 1171 CE).

If the father defies stereotypes with the younger son, he does so even more in his response to the older son's attacks upon his honor. This son's refusal to join the public banquet shames the father and might be expected to result in a beating.[54] Next, the older son apparently invents, in an attempt to destroy the new *shalom* between the father and younger son, the accusation that his brother has consumed the family fortune with foreign prostitutes.[55] Now he has presented a challenge to family honor which the father must answer, especially if it is correct that in the type of societies represented here, honor is a limited good and challenge–riposte a zero-sum game.[56] While not explicitly applying the current honor–shame model from anthropology, Bailey does assume that the other banquet guests are listening, and he concludes that after the older brother's refusal to join the party and words to his father, the father's 'public honor is at stake'.[57] Although the elder son has failed to use the title of respect for his father, the father responds to his insult with τέκνον, 'my child', a form of address both Scott and Bailey consider more familiar than υἱός, 'son'. Further, Bailey has found that the Arab translations use the equally affectionate *ya waladi*.[58] Then, in spite of the older son's disrespectful treatment, this father continues by making the same offer of unconditional love as he did earlier to the younger son.[59] Thus the father's behavior removes the interchange from the challenge–riposte mode and subverts the older son's attempt to reduce the honor of both his younger sibling and the father by whom he feels wronged. As Pheme Perkins observes, the father's reply renews the possibility for the older son to join the celebration and means 'neither son is permitted to score a victory over the other'.[60]

Although full exploration of honor–shame dynamics is beyond the scope of this essay, rereading Lk. 15 with cultural insights from Arab

54. Bailey, *Finding the Lost*, pp. 171-72. Rohrbaugh calls the son's refusal 'shocking' and 'a public humiliation of the family and the father' ('Dysfunctional Family'), pp. 158-59.

55. Squandering the property in 'dissolute living' (ζῶν ἀσώτως) in v. 13 becomes devouring livelihood with 'prostitutes' (πορνῶν) in 15.30. See G.W. Ramsey, 'Plots, Gaps, Repetitions, and Ambiguity in Luke 15', *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 17 (1990), pp. 33-42 (36-37).

56. Malina and Neyrey, 'Honor and Shame', pp. 29-32.

57. Bailey, *Finding the Lost*, p. 183.

58. Bailey, *Finding the Lost*, p. 183-84. Scott, *Hear Then the Parable*, p. 121 n. 81, says 'τέκνον in the vocative denotes affection', citing BAGD, p. 808; Albrecht Oepke, 'παῖς', *TDNT*, V, pp. 636-54; and Manson, *Sayings*, p. 290.

59. Bailey, *Finding the Lost*, pp. 150, 183.

60. Pheme Perkins, *Love Commands in the New Testament* (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), p. 57.

women has evoked the question of what to do when concrete details of the text appear to violate the anthropological model. Much has already been said about the atypical response of the father to both sons' destructive behavior. Is the parable father's selfless love in the face of challenges to family honor a shocking exception to expected behavior as summarized by the honor–shame code—or is it evidence that this code is a flawed model for describing the range of social dynamics in first-century Palestine? In other words, is this parable challenging first-century culture or modern Western scholarly assumptions about that culture, or both? Maybe what is being challenged is men's ways of reading the parables, from the Arab Christian men Kenneth Bailey interviewed to the Western male scholars such as Malina and Rohrbaugh. By contrast, the Arab women readers who show no surprise at such an emotional and loving welcome may be seeing Arab fathers as they are, not so much as they wish to be seen in the terms of a male-devised honor–shame code.

Drawing upon her extensive study of family structures in Luke and in Greco-Roman household norms, Alicia Batten sees the father's response as deviating from the prevailing culture and Jesus' use of the story as confronting existing ideologies of external honor. One of her observations is consistent with this study of the father's love and compassion: 'The parable relativizes honour by making it clear that life, hospitality and solidarity are much more important'.[61] The anthropological data collected anecdotally from Arab Christian women suggests, however, that honor and gender role models developed by current anthropology may not always apply to their more recent experience of village family life, just as the work of Meyers and others urges the same caution about biblical societies. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza has exposed the potential for destructive anti-Judaism in describing the Jesus of the gospels as a feminist 'over and against Jewish life and beliefs' and urges instead that scholars consider 'whether Judaism had elements of a critical feminist impulse that come to the fore in the vision and ministry of Jesus'.[62] Without arguing that the father of Lk. 15 is a typical Mediterranean father, one can speculate that he, like Jesus, may be part of what Fiorenza calls 'an *alternative* option to the dominant patriarchal structures'[63] and what

61. Alicia Batten, 'Jesus and Family: A Comparison of Luke 14.26 and the Parable of the Prodigal Son' (MA thesis; University of St Michael's College, Toronto, 1992), pp. 115-18. Also helpful is her 'Dishonour, Gender and the Parable of the Prodigal Son', *Toronto Journal of Theology*, 13 (1997), pp. 187-200.

62. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *But She Said: Feminist Practices of Bibical Interpretation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), p. 107.

63. Fiorenza, *But She Said*, p. 107.

Batten says is 'an alternative mode of behaviour for a particular situation'.[64]

I also asked my interviewees whether there might be any special reason for the absence of a mother in this famous story. This absence was long ignored by Luke's commentators, and only recently has the dearth of female characters in all the gospel parables been quantitatively analyzed.[65] The Arab Christian women were unimpressed by the omission of a mother from the parable narrative. They assumed there would have been a wife/mother, because even if the sons' mother had died, the father would have remarried. So why does she not figure in the action? Their answer was that women then had no public voice (and 'still do not in some areas') and were excluded from talk of money and outdoor work. The mother's realm was inside the home, so it is not surprising that it was the father who was 'outside' to welcome the son and instruct the servants. One commented that the mother would likely have been giving directions to those servants who worked inside the house. None expressed the notion that the mother might have been excluded from the community celebration of the younger son's return. However, this is one case where the Arab Christian women's assessment fits with Malina and Rohrbaugh's 'male/outside' and 'female/inside' anthropological model.[66]

Among recent commentators, Scott has devoted much attention to 'an undertow, the maternal theme', in this parable. He finds this theme in the motif of nourishment and in the father's 'kissing and embracing' of the younger son. Scott concludes, 'The father combines in himself the maternal and paternal roles. As a father he is a failure, but as a mother he is a success'.[67] Again in this case, as for interpretations based on an honor–shame model, the perspectives of both the Arab Christian women and Western feminist biblical scholars such as myself decry the tendency to equate parental tenderness with only one gender.[68]

64. Batten, 'Jesus and Family', p. 120.

65. Nicola Slee, 'Parables and Women's Experience, *Modern Churchman* 26.2 (1984), pp. 20-31, in Durber, 'Female Reader', p. 69 n. 1. More recent studies have discussed the missing mother. For example, Scott, *Hear Then the Parable*, says 'the mother, the unspoken binary of the father, is here implied in the son's starvation' (p. 115). Rohrbaugh, 'Dysfunctional Family', speculates about what the family's mother stands to lose when the younger son takes his share of the land and inheritance (pp. 151-52).

66. Malina and Rohrbaugh, 'Honor and Shame', p. 62.

67. Scott, *Hear Then the Parable*, pp. 115-16, 122.

68. As someone who has been 'married into' a Lebanese-American family for over 30 years, I have continually observed that physical expressions of affection between father and son and among brothers and male friends far surpass what is typical among Euro-American males.

*Re-viewing Luke–Acts and the Jews in the Light of Lk. 15's Older Brother*

As noted above, the father in Lk. 15 must deal not only with the separation and return of his younger son, but also with the alienation of the older son. The older son distances himself from the family by intensifying the guilt of the younger brother. Next he rejects family and community fellowship by refusing to enter the banquet, and finally he refers to his relationship with the father in master/servant language in 15.29 with the verb δουλεύω.[69] Regarding the public celebration, it must be pointed out that there is no reason to suppose that the older son has been intentionally excluded from the preparations and festivities.[70] In a typical Middle Eastern farming family he was likely working in the fields at a distance from home and so learned of the banquet as he returned for the night. Regarding Luke's use of δουλεύω in the mouth of the older brother in Lk. 15.29, Heikki Räisänen observes that this verb 'is used, as it often is in the LXX, as a word of respect'.[71]

Seeing the brother's words in a positive light fits with the Arab Christian women's perspective on the older son's behavior and attitudes. Asked to comment specifically on the son's complaint to the father in Lk. 15.29-30, they saw the serving/slaving language not as indicative of the brother's view of his relationship with his father but rather of the work level of an older child. Two noted that if the son considered himself more a slave than a son, he would not have felt free to talk back to the father in Lk. 15.29-30. On family structures in general, they said it is normal for older children to take responsibility for parents, property, family business, and so on—often sacrificing their own ambitions. Younger siblings 'can play around', get everything they want from the parents, and often 'get by with a lot', while the older siblings are 'killing themselves' and seldom getting 'good words' from the parents. When I described the scholarly criticism of the older brother, the women's responses took the

69. This point is made by Bailey, *Finding the Lost*, pp. 179-81. See also David L. Tiede, *Luke* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988) p. 280; David P. Moessner, *Lord of the Banquet: The Literary and Theological Significance of the Lukan Travel Narrative* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), p. 159; Schweizer, *Good News*, pp. 259-60. Hultgren, *The Parables of Jesus*, p. 71, cites BAGD, p. 205, in favoring a translation of this verb as 'to serve as a slave'.

70. Donald Juel, for example, comments that it appears no one has remembered to go out into the fields to invite him. See 'The Strange Silence of the Bible', *Int* 51 (1997), pp. 5-19 (11).

71. Heikki Räisänen, 'The Prodigal Gentile and His Jewish Christian Brother, Lk 15.11-32', in F. Van Segbroeck et al. (eds.), *The Four Gospels* 1992 (Festschrift Frans Neirynck I; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992), II, p. 1622.

form of stories of siblings or cousins forced to stay home and work family farms rather than have professional careers. Finally, one excused the older brother's anger and jealousy. She said that as a parent she can understand the father's generous forgiveness of the younger son, but she would not have understood this before becoming a parent. 'That's why the older son cannot experience' the father's reaction.

Because of the redactor's apparent linking of this son with the scribes and Pharisees of 15.2, the Arab women's greater empathy for and softened condemnation of the older brother has implications for the larger issue of the portrayal of Jesus' Jewish opponents in Luke–Acts. Biblical scholars from the Patristic period onward have looked negatively upon the character of the older brother. Ambrose's commentary describes him as a type of 'the Christian rigorist who is opposed to a reconciliation with his bankrupt brother'.[72] A more recent example sees the fate of two sons in Lk. 15 as illustrative of Luke's reversal motif: 'Here the son who appeared to be evil turns out to be good, and the one who appeared to be good turns out to be evil.'[73] Yet there are modern readers who echo the Arab Christian women's greater empathy for this character. Donald Juel suggests reading the Lk. 15 parable aloud in a manner that treats the younger son as a 'classic manipulator' and favors the older son's point of view. 'The older brother suddenly becomes a more sympathetic character'.[74] How then might a fresh look at this character suggest the need for a nuanced description of the implied author's treatment of the scribes and Pharisees?

Space does not permit a survey of the mixed nature of this treatment, attested to by the conflicting views in such volumes as *Luke–Acts and the Jewish People*.[75] However, in the literary context for Lk. 15, the father and two sons parable follows on the heels of the banquet story of Lk. 14. There, according to Darr's reading, Pharisees are among those whose exclusion from the messianic banquet is predicted (Lk. 14.23, 26-27).[76] Then in Lk. 15 the narrative frame for the 'lost' parables guides the

72. Bovon and Rouiller, *Exegesis*, p. 366.

73. Malina and Rohrbaugh, *Social Science Commentary*, p. 372.

74. Juel, 'Strange Silence', pp. 10-11. Nancy Duff lists several reasons that modern listeners might easily identify with the older brother. See 'Luke 15.11-32 (Between Text and Sermon)', *Int* 49 (1995), pp. 66-69. Other readings sympathetic to the older son include Räisänen, 'Prodigal Gentile', p. 1622; and Charles E. Carlston, 'Reminiscence and Redaction in Luke 15.11-32', *JBL* 94 (1975), pp. 368-90, especially pp. 386-87.

75. Joseph B. Tyson (ed.), *Luke–Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988).

76. John Darr, *On Building Character: The Reader and the Rhetoric of Characterization in Luke–Acts* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), p. 108.

reader toward an allegorical equation of the 'grumbling' scribes and Pharisees (15.2) with the complaining older brother (Lk. 15.25-30). Darr observes that their 'murmuring' (διεγόγγυζον) links them not only to the older brother but to the stubborn Israelites following Moses in Sinai. The implied reader of Lk. 15 watches the self-righteous Pharisees 'listen to stories about themselves', and when their counterpart the older brother alienates himself at the end, be 'forced to judge themselves'.[77] Even harsher is Jack T. Sanders's claim that this parable aims 'a considerable broadside' at the Pharisees.[78]

What both Darr and Sanders fail to appreciate is that at least two factors argue for a more positive reading. First is the possibility that implied readers (as well as the actual readers among the Arab Christian women and the scholars cited above) may extend their more sympathetic response to the older brother also to the scribes and Pharisees he symbolizes on the allegorical level. Second, the older brother has not only *not* been rejected by the father, he has been granted permanent insider status by the father's words in Lk. 15.31.

Scott describes three narrative levels to these parables. The first level is Lk. 15 as part of the whole gospel story, the third level is each of the three parables with its own plot and characters, and the second or intermediate level combines the first and third as the reader interprets. He says that even though on the intermediate level 'there is an implied rejection of the elder son...in the parable narrative itself there is no rejection'. The elder son 'inherits all' (Lk. 15.31).[79] While affirming Scott's reading of the parable itself, I see no reason to assume that the second narrative level (that cued by Luke's redaction) results in rejection of the older brother and hence of the scribes and Pharisees. As Hultgren has observed, what Luke's redaction does suggest is criticism, not rejection.[80] In this light, I would apply Scott's conclusion about the third level to all three levels. 'In the parable the kingdom is not something that decides between but something that unifies.' And one group is not 'rejected at the expense of another'.[81] Scott's reading, although vastly more sophisticated in literary-critical terms, does support the Arab women's insights into the dynamics between the father and the older son, insights that refocus attention on the father's reaffirmed love and acceptance of the

77. Darr, *On Building Character*, pp. 108-109.

78. Jack T. Sanders, 'Tradition and Redaction in Luke XV.11-31', *NTS* 15 (1968), p. 438.

79. Scott, *Here Then the Parable*, pp. 101-105.

80. Hultgren, *The Parables of Jesus*, p. 82 n. 55.

81. Scott, *Here Then the Parable*, p. 125.

older son in spite of his behavior. Jesus through the image of the father is offering unconditional love to all, Pharisees and scribes, as well as sinners and tax collectors.[82] As Fred B. Craddock asserts, 'The embrace of the younger son did not mean the rejection of the older; the love of tax collectors and sinners does not at all negate love of Pharisees and scribes'.[83] Close reading of Luke and Acts does not reveal an implied author who affirms those Jews who reject the prophet-Messiah Jesus. But such a reading does support the claim that neither God in Luke–Acts nor the implied author has abandoned the elder brother of Lk. 15 or the Pharisees and scribes he symbolizes.[84] Thus, bringing to Luke's gospel modern perspectives from varied social locations, such as those of Arab Christian immigrants, can inform not only gender dynamics, but theological interpretation as well. In an era when re-examination of gospel texts is one important step toward improved Jewish–Christian relations and elimination of Christian anti-Judaism,[85] re-viewing the older brother of Lk. 15 is a helpful enterprise.

## *Conclusions*

In this effort to reinterpret the parables of Lk. 15, I have combined traditional biblical scholarship with sociological and anthropological information gathered from interviews with Arab Christian women, observation of women's lives in northern Yemen, and published analyses of gender dynamics in both biblical narratives and societies in the modern Mediterranean-Arab orbit. Besides producing new insights into the Lukan parables, this re-viewing of Lk. 15 has highlighted the issues of the interface between anthropology and exegesis of biblical texts, of the standpoints from which feminist biblical scholars assess gender dynamics generally and the treatment of women in Luke–Acts specifically, and of Luke's attitudes toward 'the Jews'. On the second of these matters especially, my

82. Bailey, *Finding the Lost*, p. 189.

83. Fred B. Craddock, *Luke* (IBC; Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1990), p. 188.

84. In '"Son, You Are Always with Me": The Issue of Luke–Acts and the Jews in the Light of Luke 4, Luke 15, and Acts 28', presented to the Early Jewish–Christian Relations Group, Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting (Washington, DC, November 1993), I argue that a close reading of the whole of Luke–Acts portrays God and God's agents as not abandoning the Jews in favor of a solely Gentile mission.

85. See, e.g., Sidney G. Hall III, *Christian Anti-Semitism and Paul's Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993); Clark M. Williamson and Ronald J. Allen, *Interpreting Difficult Texts: Anti-Judaism and Christian Preaching* (London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1989); and Arthur E. Zannoni (ed.), *Jews and Christians Speak of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994).

own altered social location, as one who has lived among Arab Christian and Muslim women, impels me to bring a 'hermeneutics of suspicion'[86] not only to biblical texts but also to the lenses through which Western readers interpret those texts. My own hermeneutics of suspicion will thus continue both to acknowledge the androcentric character of the Bible and to take account of the impact on biblical exegesis of the Western cultural perspectives underlying both Western feminist and Western anthropological interpretations.

86. This term is used by Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza and others to describe an interpretive approach that uncovers the androcentric and patriarchal posture and elements in texts such as the Bible and in traditional criticism of those texts. See, e.g., Fiorenza, 'A Feminist Critical Interpretation', p. 23, as well as her books *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1994), and *Bread Not Stone: The Challenge of Feminist Biblical Interpretation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984).

# '"REMEMBER"...THEN THEY REMEMBERED': LUKE 24.6-8

Maria-Luisa Rigato*

Reflection on the dignity of women in the church is no longer the preserve of those directly concerned or of women and their male collaborators,[1] especially since Vatican II. The Catholic hierarchy also needs to devote serious thought to the subject. Consequently, we may regard as a 'sign of the times' John Paul II's *Mulieris dignitatem* (1988), in which he acknowledges the prerogative of women as the 'first eyewitnesses of the risen Christ' (no. 16). The document is a meditation offered to the entire church, which gives thanks 'for the "mystery of woman" and for every woman... for all the manifestations of the feminine "genius" which have appeared in the course of history' (no. 31). These are statements and acknowledgments that would have been unthinkable for a pope as recently as a quarter-century ago. Once this meditation and reflection has begun, it is right and desirable that it should continue, until there is no longer 'male or female' in the church, but we are 'all one in Christ Jesus' (Gal. 3.28).

My purpose in these pages is to reflect on Lk. 24.6c-8 in the hope of drawing from our common treasure 'what is new and what is old' (Mt. 13.51).[2]

* This article was first published in Gerald O'Collins and Gilberto Marconi (eds.), *Luke and Acts* (trans. J. O'Connell; Mahweh, NJ: Paulist Press, 1992), pp. 93-102. Reprinted by permission.

1. I am thinking, for example, of the collective volume J. Blank, G. Dautzenberg, H. Merklein, and K. Müller (eds.), *Die Frau im Urchristentum* (Quaestiones Disputatae, 95; Freiburg: Herder, 1983), or the series, *Teologia al femminile* (Palermo, 1985–90), edited by Cettina Militello and now numbering five volumes. Further: Salvatore Spera (ed.), *Uomini e donne nella Chiesa* (Atti della VII Primavera di Santa Chiara; Rome: Vivere, 1988); Vittorio Fusco (ed.), *La donna nella Chiesa e nel mondo* (Naples, 1988).

2. These verses have not been made the subject of any special exegetical study. The same lack of attention can be seen in some of the more recent commentaries on the Third Gospel; e.g., L. Sabourin, *Il Vangelo di Luca* (Casale Monferrato, 1989; French original, 1985) p. 367, where a brief reference is made to Lk. 9.22; O. da Spinetoli, *Luca* (Assisi, 1986), pp. 727: 'The "men" recall the prophecy of the passion and resurrection to support their credibility'; J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke X–XXIV* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1986), pp. 1531-48: no reference to 'Remember';

The Easter traditions that came together in the redactions of the gospels are well known.[3] The verses I am examining here are found exclusively in Luke. They present no problems from the standpoint of textual criticism; the variants are unimportant.[4] The passage is a familiar one, as is its immediate context:

> When they [the women] went in [to the tomb], they did not find the body [of the Lord Jesus]. While they were perplexed about this, suddenly two men in dazzling clothes stood beside them. The women were terrified and bowed their faces to the ground, but the men said to them, 'Why do you look for the living among the dead? He is not here, but has risen. Remember how he told you, while he was still in Galilee, that the Son of Man must be handed over to sinners, and be crucified, and on the third day rise again'. Then they remembered the words, and returning from the tomb, they told all this to the eleven and to all the rest... 'They [the women] came back and told us that they had indeed seen a vision of angels who said that he was alive' (24.3-8, 23).

### *'"Remember how he told you"... Then they remembered'*

The women are urged, even commanded, to call to mind, to keep present, a prophetic message, a revelation of Jesus. The verb μιμνῄσκεσθαι, 'to remember', occurs 255 times in the LXX, where it translates the Hebrew verb זכר 175 times (out of 181 occurrences of this verb). In Luke's work (Luke 6x; Acts 4x) it is always related to God or Jesus:

- Lk. 1.54 Mary praises the Lord who has helped Israel, being mindful (μνησθῆναι) of his mercy.
- Lk. 1.72 Zechariah prophesied, blessing the Lord God of Israel who has shown mercy to the fathers and been mindful (μνησθῆναι) of his holy covenant.
- Lk. 16.25 In the parable of the rich banqueter and Lazarus the poor man, Abraham urges the rich man to remember (μνήσθητι) that he has received good things (τὰ ἀγαθά) during his life, while Lazarus has received evil things (τὰ κακά). Received them from whom? According to the biblical mind, from God; see, for example, Job 2.10: 'Shall we receive the good (הטוב/ τὰ ἀγαθά) at the hand of God, and not receive the bad (הרע/ τὰ κακά)?'

C. Ghidelli, *Luca* (Rome: Edizione paoline, 5th edn, 1989), p. 461: 'Here we are reminded that Jesus had predicted not only his death but also his resurrection'.

3. See also M.L. Rigato, 'Donne testimoni della Risurrezione', in Spera (ed.), *Uomini e donne nella Chiesa*, pp. 37-53.

4. Nestle-Aland, *NovTGr, ad hoc.*

- Lk. 23.42 One of the two criminals crucified with Jesus turns to him and says: 'Jesus, remember (μνήσθητι) me when you come into your kingdom.'
- Lk. 24.6 The two men-angels said to the women: 'Why do you look for the living among the dead? He is not here, but has risen. Remember how he told (μνήσθητε ὡς ἐλάλησεν) you, while he was still in Galilee...'
- Lk. 24.8 'Then they remembered his words (ἐμνήσθησαν τῶν ῥημάτων αὐτοῦ)'.
- Acts 10.31 Cornelius tells Peter that 'a man in dazzling clothes' told him his prayer had been heard and his alms had been remembered (ἐμνήσθησαν) before God.
- Acts 11.16 In Jerusalem Peter reports the entire story of Cornelius and the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the family of this Roman centurion of the Italian cohort; Peter concludes: 'And I remembered the word of the Lord, how he said (ἐμνήσθην δὲ τοῦ ῥήματος τοῦ κυρίου ὡς ἔλεγεν): 'John baptized with water, but you will be baptized with the Holy Spirit.'

This last passage is especially relevant to the present discussion, because it refers to a specific *promise* and its *fulfillment*. The promise of Jesus is in fact cited in Acts 1.5: 'John baptized with water, but you will be baptized with the Holy Spirit.' In the Gospel of Luke this promise is placed on the lips of John the Baptist: 'I baptize you with water; but one who is more powerful than I is coming... He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire' (Lk. 3.16).

Something similar is the case with the one occurrence in Luke of the verb ὑπομιμνήσκειν, which also means 'remember' and is used four times in the LXX, for the Hebrew זכר.

- Lk. 22.34 'Jesus said, "I tell you, Peter, the cock will not crow this day, until you have denied three times that you know me".'
- Lk. 22.61 'Then Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how he had said to him (ὑπεμνήσθη...τοῦ ῥήματος τοῦ κυρίου ὡς εἶπεν), "Before the cock crows today, you will deny me three times".'

We should note that the words of Jesus the Lord which are to be remembered (Lk. 22.61; 24.6; Acts 11.16) or which caused the hearts of the disciples at Emmaus to burn within them 'while he was talking (ὡς ἐλάλει) to us on the road, while he was opening the scriptures to us' (Lk. 24.32), are introduced by a 'citational' ὡς, just as are texts from the Old

Testament Scriptures: 'As it is written in the book of the words of the prophet Isaiah' (Lk. 3.4); 'As Moses says…' followed by a citation of Exodus (Lk. 3.15; 20.37); 'As also it is written in the second psalm' (Acts 13.33; Ps. 2.7).[5]

*'How he told you, while he was still in Galilee' (Lk. 24.6)*

The two men-angels say that during his stay in Galilee, Jesus had revealed his suffering and resurrection to the women. This 'you' (ὑμῖν) must not be allowed to pass unnoticed, especially since without it the words of the angels would still have meaning. On the other hand, Luke knows full well that nowhere in his gospel is there a prediction of the death and resurrection of Jesus that is addressed expressly to the women. We must therefore look for correspondences of wording and content to Lk. 24.7 among the combined predictions of the passion and the resurrection and try to determine which of these are placed from a redactional viewpoint in Galilee.

If I am not mistaken, the Third Gospel has, before the event, six explicit predictions of the Passion–Resurrection (Lk. 9.22, 44-45; 13.32-33; 17.25; 18.31-34; 22.15-38) and four allusions to it (5.35; 9.31; 11.30; 14.27); after the event, it has four '*remembrances* of the prediction's *fulfillment*' (Lk. 24.6-8, 20-21, 26, 45-46). The latter are all uttered in Jerusalem or its environs. The repeated prediction in Lk. 22.15-38 is uttered in the upper room in Jerusalem.

Here are some observations that will help decide whether the other predictions, especially the one in Lk. 18.31-34, were uttered in Galilee.

a. The word 'Judea' (which occurs 10x) does not appear between Lk. 7.17 and 21.21.
b. Luke omits the name of the village of Martha and Mary (Lk. 10.38). Only from John do we learn that the place was Bethany in Judea (Jn 12.1).
c. Jerusalem is always in the background as the goal of the journey (Lk. 9.31, 51, 53; 10.30 [parable]; Lk. 13.4 [reference to a calamity that occurred there]; Lk. 13.22; 17.11; 18.31), as the place to which Jesus draws near (Lk. 19.11) and to which he

5. The particle ὡς occurs with great frequency in Luke's work (Lk. 50x + one var.; Acts 64x ὡς + two var.) and is used with a temporal, comparative, or quantitative meaning, as an adverb of manner, and, finally, to introduce a citation in the few cases (7x) in which it is followed by γράφειν, λαλεῖν, λέγειν.

Lk. 24.32d may be numbered among the instances (6 in the gospel) in which ὡς *is* a modal adverb; it should therefore be translated not as 'while (he was opening)' (as it usually is in modern translations), but as 'how (he was opening)'. The Vulgate translates only the first ὡς in 24.32 and makes it a temporal adverb on which both verbs then depend: 'Et dixerunt ad invicem: Nonne cor nostrum ardens erat in nobis *dum* loqueretur in via *et* aperiret nobis scripturas'.

continues to go up (Lk. 19.28). Luke ends the geographical 'ascent' of Jesus to Jerusalem by telling us, not that he entered the city, but that he entered the Temple (Lk. 19.45). Jesus goes up to Jerusalem either from Galilee as a 12-year-old (Lk. 2.42) or from Judea (Lk. 19.28).

d. The saying of Jesus: 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem, the city that kills the prophets and stones those who are sent to it!' along with the rest of the citation (Lk. 13.34-35), is placed by Luke in a Galilean setting (cf. Mt. 23.37-39): 'At that very hour some Pharisees came and said to him, "Get away from here, for Herod wants to kill you" ' (Lk. 13.31). According to Luke, Herod had jurisdiction only in Galilee (Lk. 3.1; 23.6-7). But Jesus does not leave Galilee. The Sabbath meal in the house of a leader of the Pharisees certainly does not take place in Samaria (Lk. 14.1-25).

e. The observation that as Jesus advanced toward Jerusalem 'he traveled through Samaria and Galilee' (Lk. 17.11, NAB) is odd from a geographical viewpoint. It may mean that the predictions in Lk. 17.25 and Lk. 18.31-34 were located by the redactor in Galilee, which is named in second place. On the other hand, at the beginning of his journey to Jerusalem, Jesus enters a village of the Samaritans (Lk. 9.52); later on, however, as I noted above, he is in Galilee (Lk. 13.31). Luke's more or less accurate knowledge of the geography of the 'land of Israel' (Mt. 2.20, 21) is here not in evidence.

f. The formal entrance of Jesus into Judea, though the latter is not named, takes place when he enters the city of Jericho (Lk. 19.1), which he has been approaching (Lk. 18.35).

g. 'As he approached (ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτὸν) Jericho' (Lk. 18.35) is not necessarily connected in time or space with Lk. 18.31: 'See, we are going up to Jerusalem'. We saw something similar in a passage cited above: 'As he continued his journey to (καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι) Jerusalem, he traveled through Samaria and Galilee' (Lk. 17.11, NAB).

A conclusion may be drawn: all these redactional pointers suggest that, except for Lk. 22.15-37, the predictions of Jesus' suffering and the allusions to it are located in Galilee.

### *'The Son of Man must be...'*

Not all the predictions of the Passion are followed by predictions of the resurrection, but only some of them, which I shall now look at more closely.

- Lk. 9.22 The disciples (οἱ μαθηταί) are the recipients of the prediction (Lk. 9.18). To the question of Jesus: 'But who do you say that I am?' Peter answers: 'The Messiah of God' (9.18, 20). The prediction follows: 'The Son of Man must undergo great suffering (δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν), and be rejected by the elders, chief priests, and scribes, and be killed, and on the third day be raised (καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθῆναι)'.[6]

6. The use of the verb ἐγείρειν, ἐγείρεσθαι, 'to rise, to be raised' (from sleep, from

- Lk. 13.31-33 To some Pharisees who warn Jesus that Herod wants to kill him (σε ἀποκτεῖναι), Jesus replies: 'Go and tell that fox for me, Listen, I am casting out demons and performing cures today and tomorrow, and on the third (day) I finish my work (καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ [var. + ἡμέρα] τελειοῦμαι)... It is impossible for a prophet to be killed outside of Jerusalem'.

- Lk. 18.31-34 The addressees are the Twelve: '"Everything that is written about the Son of Man by the prophets will be accomplished (τελεσθήσεται). For he will be handed over (παραδοθήσεται) to the Gentiles (τοῖς ἔθνεσιν), and he will be mocked and insulted and spat upon. After they have flogged him, they will kill him (καὶ μαστιγώσαντες ἀποκτενοῦσιν αὐτόν), and on the third day he will rise again (καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ ἀναστήσεται)".[7] But what he said (τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο) was hidden from them.'

During the transfiguration, Moses and Elijah allude to the Passion, death, and resurrection:[8] 'Moses and Elijah [were] talking to him (συνελάλουν αὐτῷ). They...were speaking of his departure, which he was about to accomplish (πληροῦν) in Jerusalem' (Lk. 9.30-31).

Luke's reference to Jonah: 'Just as Jonah became a sign to the people of Nineveh, so the Son of Man will be to this generation' (Lk. 11.29-32), lacks the explicitness found in Matthew: 'Just as Jonah was three days

a prone position, and therefore also from the sleep of death), for the resurrection of Jesus as prophecy and as event is not unambiguous: two meanings —'raise (bring back to life)' and 'rise'—are established. It is clear that the transitive use—to bring someone back to life, to be brought back to life by someone—is demonstrated only if the verb is followed by an object raised or a raising agent. The gospels and Acts use the middle form of the verb ἐγείρεσθαι both transitively and intransitively; there are no sure examples of the middle-passive form being used transitively. I think it advisable here to translate what is definitely an aorist passive infinitive by 'to be brought back to life', evidently by God, in contrast to having been 'rejected by the elders (ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι ἀπὸ...) [...] and killed'. Some codices have the variant, ἀναστῆναι.

7. The verb ἀναστῆναι, 'raise oneself (from a sitting position, from rest and therefore also from death), arise', is always used intransitively in the Gospel of Luke. See, in contrast, n. 6 on ἐγείρειν, ἐγείρεσθαι.

8. See E. Rasco, *La teología de Lucas: Origen, Desarrollo, Orientaciones* (AnGr, 20.1; Rome, 1976), pp. 119-20; here, in connection with the word ἔξοδος, 'departure', Rasco cites I.A. Bengel, *Gnomen Novi Testamenti in quo ex nativa verborum vi simplicitas profunditas concinnitas salubritas sensuum coelestium indicatur* (Tübingen, 2nd edn, 1759), p. 259: 'A wonderful and very important word which refers inclusively to the passion, cross, death, resurrection, and ascension. Its opposite is εἴσοδος, entrance: Acts 13.24'. Such appears to be the meaning of the 'exodus' of Jesus as understood by Luke: a journey that takes him beyond the city'.

and three nights in the belly of the sea monster, so for three days and three nights the Son of Man will be in the heart of the earth' (Mt. 12.40).

The other predictions of the Passion, including the final one in Lk. 22, are not accompanied by predictions of the resurrection.

- Lk. 9.44-45 The addressees are the disciples, whom Jesus urges: '"Let these words sink into your ears: The Son of Man is going to be betrayed into human hands (μέλλει παραδίδοσθαι εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων)". But they did not understand this saying (τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο)... And they were afraid to ask him about this saying (περὶ τοῦ ῥήματος τούτου)'.

- Lk. 17.25 The addressees are the disciples, to whom Jesus says: 'But first he [the Son of Man, 17.22, 24] must endure much suffering (πολλὰ παθεῖν) and be rejected by this generation'.

- Lk. 22 Jesus speaks to the disciples/apostles (22.11, 14); the verb 'suffer' is used again (πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν) (22.15); the Scriptures must be fulfilled (δεῖ τελεσθῆναι) (22.37); he must be handed over (παραδιδόναι) (22.21, 22, 48).

Jesus also alludes to his death when he says: 'The days will come when the bridegroom will be taken away from' the disciples, who will then fast (Lk. 5.35). In like manner, his statement: 'Whoever does not carry the cross and follow me cannot be my disciple' (Lk. 14.27) is first and foremost an allusion to his death. An examination of all these passages shows that only two contain explicit predictions by Jesus of both his death and his resurrection: Lk. 9.22 and 18.31-34.

In 'remembrances of the event' certain words of the predictions are repeated exactly:

- Lk. 24.5-8 The men-angels say to them (πρὸς αὐτάς: the women): '"Remember how he told you, while he was still in the Galilee (ἐλάλησεν ὑμῖν ἔτι ὢν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ), that the Son of Man must be handed over to sinners (δεῖ παραδοθῆναι εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων ἁμαρτωλῶν), and be crucified, and on the third day rise again (καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστῆναι)". Then they remembered his words (καὶ ἐμνήσθησαν τῶν ῥημάτων αὐτοῦ)'.

- Lk. 24.20-21 The two from Emmaus tell Jesus what has happened in Jerusalem: the chief priests and leaders handed Jesus over (παρέδωκαν) to be condemned to death, and they crucified him. 'It is now the third day (τρίτην ταύτην ἡμέραν ἄγει) since these things took place'.

- Lk. 24.26 Jesus replies to the two disciples: 'Was it not necessary that the Messiah should suffer these things (ἔδει παθεῖν) and then enter into his glory?'
- Lk. 24.44-46 Jesus says to the Eleven and the others with them (v. 33c): 'These are my words that I spoke to you while I was still with you (ἐλάλησα πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔτι ὢν σὺν ὑμῖν) that everything written about me...must be fulfilled (δεῖ πλῃρωθῆναι)... Thus it is written that the Messiah is to suffer (παθεῖν τὸν χριστόν) and to rise from the dead on the third day (καὶ ἀναστῆναι...τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ).'

*Literary Correspondences*

Some comments can now be made on the passages listed above. Luke 24.6c-8 has a number of elements in common with other passages of the same gospel:

| remember | |
|---|---|
| Jesus said (λαλεῖν) | with 24.32, 44 |
| while still (ἔτι ὢν) | with 24.44 |
| in Galilee | |
| the Son of Man | with 9.22, 44; 17.24-25; 18.31 |
| must (δεῖ, ἐδεῖ) | with 9.22; 17.25; 22.37; 24.26, 44 |
| be handed over | with 9.44;18.32; 22.22 |
| into the hands of (men) | with 9.44 |
| (who are) sinners | |
| be crucified | (aorist active 24.20) |
| on the third day | with 9.22; 13.32 (partly); 18.32; 24.46 |
| rise (ἀναστῆναι) | with (9.22 as variant);18.33; 24.46 |
| word (ῥῆμα) | with 9.45 (bis);18.34 |

This table already tells us a good deal, because it shows five literary correspondences of Lk. 24.6c-8 with Lk. 18.31-34 (as well as 24.44-46!), and three (plus one variant) with Lk. 9.22, that is, with the two explicit predictions which Jesus made of his death and resurrection before entering Jerusalem. These statistics, along with the small pointers listed above in the second section ('Remember how he told you, while he was still in Galilee') are a further indication that the redactor is locating Lk. 18.31-34 'in Galilee'.

There are some other points to be made regarding Luke's terminology. When the word 'must' is missing, we find its equivalent, the 'fulfillment of the scriptures', using the Greek verb πληροῦν ('accomplish, fulfill', Lk. 9.31; [21.22]; 24.44: δεῖ + πλῃρ-) or the Greek verb τελεῖν ('end, bring to term', Lk. 18.31; 22.37: δεῖ + τελ-).

The 'sinners' (Lk. 24.7) to whom Jesus had to be handed over are, in brief, the three groups named in Lk. 9.22—elders, chief priests, and scribes—together with the 'Gentiles' of Lk. 18.32, as can also be seen in other passages of Luke, for example, during the trial before Pilate (23.13, 18, 24). The verb 'to crucify' (σταυροῦν) is used only from Lk. 23.13 on.

The verb 'to speak', λαλεῖν, is especially interesting in Luke. More than that, it is a privileged verb, even if not the only one, for self-expression in the sense of revelation or inspiration. Note the two passages in which it occurs along with the verb μιμνήσκεσθαι (see first section above '"Remember how he told you"... Then they remembered'): God has been mindful of his mercy 'as he said/promised to our ancestors, καθὼς ἐλάλησεν (Lk. 1.55)'as he said/promised through the mouth of his holy prophets.... He has shown the mercy promised to our ancestors, and has remembered his holy covenant' (Lk. 1.70, 72).

Moses and Elijah, who 'were speaking together [with Jesus] about his departure, which he was about to accomplish in Jerusalem', represent the prophets-scriptures Moses-prophets-psalms (even though Elijah was not a 'writing' prophet) who/which revealed him'.[9] The speech of Jesus[10] too is revelation and must be *kept in mind* (Lk. 24.6c).

## *Conclusions*

Luke 24.6c-8 has been composed in such a way that we need only substitute 'I told (you)', ἐλάλησα, for 'he told (you)', ἐλάλησεν, and we will have a discourse of Jesus in the first person. We may regard the two men-angels in dazzling clothes (24.4) as two messengers of the risen Jesus who possess, as it were, his characteristics.[11]

Jesus has always had:

- someone to announce him: the angel Gabriel sent from God to Mary (Lk. 1.26-38); the angel of the Lord sent to the shepherds (2.9-12);
- someone to prepare the way for him: John the Baptist (Lk. 1.17,

9. The literary contacts between Lk. 9.30-31; 24.26-27; and 24.44-45 tell us a great deal.

10. Lk. 2.50; 5.4, 21; 8.49; 9.11; 11.37; 22.47; 24.6, 32, 44.

11. The verb ἀστράπτειν, 'to blaze, flash, gleam', appears only in Lk. 24.4 and again in 17.24, where it is accompanied by the noun ἀστραπὴ 'lightning': 'For as the lightning flashes and lights up the sky from one side to the other, so will the Son of Man be in his day'. The intensive form, ἐξαστράπτειν, occurs only once, in the description of the garments of Jesus at the transfiguration: 'His clothes became dazzling white' (9.29).

76; 3.4, 16), a prophet (Lk. 1.76; 7.26; 20.6) 'about whom it is written, "See, I am sending my messenger ahead of you..." ' (Lk. 7.27) and who 'before his [Jesus'] coming (πρὸ προσώπου τῆς εἰσόδου αὐτοῦ) had already proclaimed a baptism of repentance to all the people of Israel' (Acts 13.24);

- two prophets, Moses (Acts 3.22) and Elijah (Lk. 4.27), two witnesses (Deut. 19.15) who are at his side at the transfiguration (Lk. 9.30-32).[12]

In addition,

- at the beginning of his geographical and theological 'journey' to Jerusalem, it was Jesus who 'sent messengers ahead of him (lit: 'before his face'), ἀπέστειλεν ἀγγέλους πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ', which seems to mean James and John (Lk. 9.52, 54).
- what more solemn moment than the resurrection could there be to justify having two heralds go before him to proclaim that he is living (Lk. 24.5) and having at his ascension two other 'men in white robes' come after him at the end of his 'journey' (Acts 1.10-11)?[13]

The two messengers in Lk. 24 bid the women remember the prophecy of death and resurrection that Jesus had uttered to them in Galilee. The literary correspondences remind us of the predictions made to the Twelve[14] in particular and to the disciples generally (Lk. 18.31-34; 9.22). *In Luke's view*, then, the women belonged to both groups.

In ch. 8 Luke tells us that Jesus was passing through cities and villages proclaiming and bringing the good news of the kingdom of God, and 'the Twelve were with him, as well as some women who had been cured' (Lk. 8.1-2).[15] Why does Luke not make the same notation in ch. 18? *Before* the

12. It is difficult not to see a harsh contrast between, on the one hand, these 'two men...[who] appeared in glory (ἄνδρες δύο ... οἱ ὀφθέντες ἐν δόξῃ)', their glory being a reflection of the glory of Jesus (the apostles 'saw his glory and the two men who stood with him [εἶδον τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς δύο ἄνδρας τοὺς συνεστῶτας αὐτῷ]' and, on the other, the 'two...criminals' crucified with Jesus, 'one on his right and one on his left' (Lk. 23.32-33).

13. On the famous section of Luke known as 'the journey' see the masterly pages of E. Rasco, *La teología de Lucas*, pp. 117-25. I agree with him in prolonging this 'journey' to the ascension in Acts 1.10, 11, on the basis of a careful analysis of the verb πορεύεσθαι, 'to journey'. See also n. 8, above.

14. Ghidelli, *Luca*, p. 461: 'It is not permissible to appeal to Lk. 18.31-33, since when Jesus uttered this third prediction he was already in Judea'.

15. A careful examination of the grammar shows that by the women ('who

resurrection, the women did not count; this was due to the mindset of the time, which is clearly brought out by Matthew at the end of both multiplications of the loaves and fishes: 'Those who ate were about five thousand men, besides women and children (παιδίων)' (Mt. 14.21; 15.38: four thousand men, besides women and children).[16] *After* the resurrection, the women belong *with* those who count, namely, the men, and form but a single group with them.

The women were devoted followers and disciples; they 'had followed him (αἱ συνακολουθοῦσαι [present participle] αὐτῷ from [ἀπό] Galilee' [Lk. 23.49]: 'the women followers [in the literal sense: κατακολουθήσασαι aorist participle]) who had come along with [him] (ἦσαν συνεληλυθυῖαι [perfect participle]) from (ἐκ) Galilee...' (Lk. 23.55). These women are, therefore, among those of whom Acts is speaking when it says: 'For many days he [Jesus] appeared to those who came up with him (τοῖς συναναβᾶσιν αὐτῷ) from (ἀπό) Galilee to Jerusalem' (Acts 13.31). The women are also, therefore, among those who 'were eyewitnesses' (Lk. 1.2). They are part of the group described as 'the Eleven and all the rest', a group further described in the next verse as 'the apostles': 'some women of our group (ἐξ ἡμῶν[17]) astounded us' (cf. Lk. 24.9-10 with 24.22). Consequently, they are with the group of 'the Eleven and their companions' at the moment of the return of the two disciples from Emmaus and therefore at the moment of the solemn return of the risen Lord to the midst of his church: he 'stood among them' (Lk. 24.33, 36). The same is true of the time when the group is awaiting baptism 'with the Holy Spirit' (Acts 1.5, 14).[18] All these facts suggest that the women were also present at the Lukan Passover supper (22.14).[19]

provided for them out of their substance') are meant only Joanna, wife of Chuza, Susanna, and the many others, and not the women mentioned in v. 2, among whom is Mary Magdalene.

16. Some codices have a variant reading in Mt. 14.21: 'children (or servants: παιδίων) and women'. Mark, Luke, and John say only that there were five thousand men, ἄνδρες (Mk 6.44; 8.9: 'four thousand'; Lk. 9.14; Jn 6.10).

17. It is significant that these two little words are lacking in codex D and a few others, because they represent a more conservative version.

18. Matthew's notation (14.21), 'besides women (χωρὶς γυναικῶν)', enables us to draw an analogous conclusion: the women may have been present even when he lists the narrowest circle of disciples, namely, the Twelve. In fact, throughout his gospel Matthew does not refer to women 'following' Jesus. Only at the death of Jesus does this evangelist mention that '*Many women* were also there, looking on from a distance; they had *followed* Jesus from Galilee and had provided for him' (lit.: serving him, διακονοῦσαι αὐτῷ, as though in a permanent position of service, διακονία [Mt. 27.55]).

19. In addition to the most widely attested reading, 'apostles', there are several variants in Lk. 22.14: 'the twelve', 'the twelve apostles...his disciples'. Recall the

In the eyes of believers, the risen Lord, the κύριος, is the authoritative interpreter of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms (Lk. 24.27, 45). He creates a new tradition that has been transmitted to us in the New Testament writings, in which the women,[20] just like the Twelve, are the recipients of the revelation regarding the death and resurrection of Jesus the Lord. They must keep this revelation in mind: their witness is henceforth a duty and a right[21]; above all, however, it is one of the many gifts which the risen Lord bestows on women.

> In the last days it will be, God declares, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh...even upon my slaves, both men and women ...and they shall prophesy (Acts 2.17-18).

passage: Jesus has told Peter and John to look for a suitable place 'where I may eat the Passover with my disciples (μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μου)'; when the hour comes, he sits down to table with the apostles (οἱ ἀπόστολοι) (Lk. 22.11, 14). There is a comparable usage in Lk. 17.1, 5. The Twelve were certainly apostles (6.13: οὓς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασεν), but the 'apostles' were not limited to the Twelve. Finally, in biblical Greek the words 'angel', 'apostle', and 'deacon' exist only in the masculine form.

20. The omission of a reference to the *first* Christophany, the one to Mary Magdalene at some distance from the tomb (Jn 20.14-17; Mk 16; Mt. 28.9, with the addition of 'the other Mary' in Mt. 28.1), appears in Luke at the redactional stage. Even though the appearance of the risen Lord to Peter is not described as chronologically *first*, any more than it is in 1 Cor. 15.5, Luke is anxious to bring out the primatial role of Peter in the beginnings of the church. For the same reason he omits the *command* to the women, even though he mentions the end result of the *command*, namely, that 'they told all this to the Eleven and to all the rest...[They] told this to the apostles', but were not believed (Lk. 24.9-11). In Luke's work the proclamation of the event of the resurrection of Jesus is initially the task of the 'official witnesses', and first of all the primary witness, Peter.

21. Recall how the law regarded women as radically incompetent to give sworn testimony (see Lev. 5.1 with Dt. 19.15, 17). See also Rigato, 'Donne testimoni della Risurrezione', p. 49.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY


Abbott-Smith, G., *A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 3rd edn, 1937).

Adam, A.K.M. (ed.), *A Handbook of Postmodern Interpretation* (St Louis: Chalice Press, forthcoming).

Alexander, L., 'Sisters in Adversity: Retelling Martha's Story', in G.J. Brooke (ed.), *Women in the Biblical Tradition* (Studies in Women and Religion, 31; Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), pp. 167-86.

Alexander, P.S., 'The Fall into Knowledge: The Garden of Eden/Paradise in Gnostic Literature', in P. Morris and D. Sawyer (eds.), *A Walk in the Garden: Biblical, Iconographical and Literary Images of Eden* (JSOTSup, 136; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), pp. 91-104.

Allison, D.C., *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993).

Alter, R., *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981).

Anderson, J.C., 'Matthew: Gender and Reading', *Semeia* 28 (1983), pp. 3-27; and reprinted in Amy-Jill Levine (ed.), *A Feminist Companion to Matthew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), pp. 25-51.

Anderson, J.C., and S.D. Moore, 'Introduction: The Lives of Mark', in J.C. Anderson and S.D. Moore (eds.), *Mark and Method: New Approaches in Biblical Studies* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992).

Arndt, W.F., *A Commentary: The Gospel According to St. Luke* (St Louis: Concordia, 1956).

Ash, A.L., *Gospel According to Luke* (Austin: Sweet, 1972).

Atwood, R., *Mary Magdalene in the New Testament Gospels and Early Tradition* (European University Studies, 23; Bern: Peter Lang, 1993).

Ayrout, H.H., *The Egyptian Peasant* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963).

Bailey, J.A., *The Traditions Common to the Gospels of Luke and John* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963).

Bailey, K.E. *Poet and Peasant* and *Through Peasant Eyes* (2 vols. in 1; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983).

—*Finding the Lost: Cultural Keys to Luke 15* (St Louis: Concordia, 1992).

Baker, A. '*One Thing Necessary*', *CBQ* 27 (1965), pp. 127-37.

Baker-Fletcher, K., 'Anna Julia Cooper and Sojourner Truth: Two Nineteenth-Century Black Feminist Interpreters of Scripture', in E.S. Fiorenza (ed.), *Searching the Scriptures*, I, pp. 41-51.

Balch, D.L. *Let Wives Be Submissive: The Domestic Code of 1 Peter* (SBLMS, 26; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981).

Balsdon, J.P.V.D., *Roman Women: Their History and Habits* (New York: John Day, 1963).

Balz, H., and G. Schneider (eds.), *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament* (3 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990).

Barclay, J., 'Ordinary But Different: Colossians and Hidden Moral Identity', paper given at annual SBL meeting, Boston, MA, November 20-23, 1999; forthcoming in the *Australian Biblical Review*.

Barnes, T.J., and J.S. Duncan, 'Introduction: Writing Worlds', in T.J. Barnes and J.S. Duncan (eds.), *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape* (New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 63-88.

Baron, S.W., *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America; New York: Columbia University Press, 1952).

Barr, D.L., and J. Wentling, 'The Conventions of Classical Biography and the Genre of Luke–Acts: A Preliminary Study', in Talbert (ed.), *Luke–Acts*.

Barton, C.A., 'The Roman Blush: The Delicate Matter of Self-Control', in J.I. Porter (ed.), *Constructions of the Classical Body* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), pp. 212-34.

Batten, A., 'Jesus and Family: A Comparison of Luke 14.26 and the Parable of the Prodigal Son' (MA thesis, University of St Michaels College, Toronto 1992).

—'Dishonour, Gender, and the Parable of the Prodigal Son', *Toronto Journal of Theology* 13 (1997), pp. 187-200.

Bemile, P., *The Magnificat within the Context and Framework of Lukan Theology: An Exegetical Study of Lk 1.46-55* (Regensburger Studien zu Theologie, 34; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1986).

Bengel, I.A., *Gnomen Novi Testamenti in quo ex nativa verborum vi simplicitas profunditas concinnitas salubritas sensuum colestium indicatur* (Tübingen: 2nd edn, 1759).

Bennett, J., *Trajan,* Optimus Princeps: *A Life and Times* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997).

Betz, O., M. Hengel and P. Schmidt (eds.), *Abraham unser Vater: Juden und Christen im Gespräch über die Bibel: Festschrift für Otto Michel zum 60. Geburtstag* (AGsJU, 5; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963).

Beyer, H.W., 'διακονία, διακονέω, διάκονος', *TDNT*, II, pp. 81-93.

—'θεραπεύω', *TDNT*, III, p. 128-32.

Black, M., *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 3rd edn, 1967).

Blank, J., 'Frauen in den Jesusüberlieferungen', in J. Blank, G. Dautzenberg, H. Merklein and K. Müller (eds.), *Die Frau im Urchristentum* (Quaestiones Disputatae, 95; Freiburg: Herder, 1983), pp. 9-91.

Blomberg, C.L., 'Midrash, Chiasmus and the Outline of Luke's Central Section', in R.T. France and D. Wenham (eds.), *Studies in Midrash and Historiography* (Gospel Perspectives, 3; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), pp. 217-61.

Boatwright, M.T., 'Plancia Magna of Perge: Women's Roles and Status in Roman Asia Minor', in S.B. Pomeroy (ed.), *Women's History and Ancient History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), pp. 242-78.

Bock, D., *Luke* (Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament, 313; Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1996).

Bode, E.L., *The First Easter Morning: The Gospel Accounts of the Women's Visit to the Tomb of Jesus* (AnBib, 45; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970).

Boismard, M., and A. Lamouille, *Les Acts des deux Apôtres*. I. *Textes* (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1990).

Bovon, F., *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (EKKNT, 3; Zürich: Benziger Verlag, 1988).

Bovon, F., and G. Rouiller, *Exegesis: Problems of Method and Exercises in Reading (Genesis 22 and Luke 15)* (trans. D.G. Miller; Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1978).

Bowie, W.R., *The Compassionate Christ* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1965).
Brawley, R.L., 'Paul in Acts: Lucan Apology and Conciliation', in C. Talbert (ed.), *Luke–Acts*, pp. 129-47.
—*Luke–Acts and the Jews: Conflict, Apology, and Conciliation* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987).
—*Centering on God: Method and Message in Luke–Acts* (Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990).
Brenner, A., 'Female Social Behavior: Two Descriptive Patterns within the "Birth of Hero" Paradigm', *VT* 36 (1986), pp. 257-73.
Brock, S.P., and S.A., Harvey (eds.), *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).
Brooten, B.J., *Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue: Inscriptional Evidence and Background Issues* (BJS, 36; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982).
—*Love Between Women: Early Christian Responses to Female Homoeroticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
Broughton, V.W., 'Twenty Year's Experience of a Missionary', in H.L. Gates, Jr (ed.), *Spiritual Narratives: M.W. Stewart; J. Lee; J.A.J. Foote; V.W. Broughton* (Schomburg Library of Nineteenth-Century Black Women Writers; New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 1-140.
Brown, C.A., *No Longer Be Silent: First Century Jewish Portraits of Biblical Women: Studies in Pseudo-Philo's* Biblical Antiquities *and Josephus's* Jewish Antiquities (Gender and the Biblical Tradition; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992).
Brown, P., 'Late Antiquity', in P. Veyne (ed.), *A History of Private Life*. I. *From Pagan Rome to Byzantium* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1987), pp. 237-311.
Brown, R.E., *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke* (New York: Doubleday, 1977, repr. 1993).
Brown, R.E., K.P. Donfried and J.A. Fitzmyer (eds.), *Mary in the New Testament: A Collaborate Assessment by Protestant and Roman Catholic Scholars* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978).
Brutscheck, J., *Die Maria–Marta-Erzählung: Eine redaktionkritische Untersuchung zu Lk 10.38-42* (BBB, 64; Frankfurt: Peter Hanstein, 1986).
Bultmann, R., 'μεριμνάω', *TDNT*, IV, pp. 589-93.
—*History of the Synoptic Tradition* (New York: Harper, 1968).
Cadbury, H.J., *The Style and Literary Methods of Luke* (HTS, 6; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920).
Caird, C.B., *The Gospel of Saint Luke* (New York: Penguin Books, 1977 [1964]).
Callaway, M., *Sing, O Barren One: A Study in Comparative Midrash* (SBLDS, 91; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986).
Calvin, J., *Commentary on the Harmony of the Evangelists: Matthew, Mark, and Luke* (trans. W. Pringle; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957).
Cantarella, E., *Pandora's Daughter: The Role and Status of Women in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).
Carcopino, J., *Daily Life in Ancient Rome: The People and the City at the Height of the Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940).
Carlston, C.E., 'Reminiscence and Redaction in Luke 15:11-32', *JBL* 94 (1975), pp. 368-90.
Carmignac, J., 'The Meaning of *parthenos* in Luke 1.27—A Reply to C.H. Dodd', *BT* 28 (1977), pp. 327-30.

Carroll, J.T., 'Luke's Portrayal of the Pharisees', *CBQ* 50 (1988), pp. 604-21.
Carson, R.A.G., *Coins of the Roman Empire* (London: Routledge, 1990).
Cassidy, R.J., and P.J. Scharper (eds.), *Political Issues in Luke–Acts* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1983).
Chance, J.B., *Jerusalem, the Temple and the New Age in Luke–Acts* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988).
Clines, D.J.A., *What Does Eve Do To Help?: And Other Readerly Questions to the Old Testament* (JSOTSup, 94; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990).
—'*Ecce Vir*, or, Gendering the Son of Man', in J.C. Exum and S.D. Moore (eds.), *Biblical Studies/Cultural Studies* (JSOTSup, 266; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp. 352-75.
Co, M.A., 'The Major Summaries in Acts: Acts 2, 42-47; 4, 32-35; 5, 12-16: Linguistic and Literary Relationships', *ETL* 68 (1992), pp. 49-85.
Coakley, J.F., 'The Anointing at Bethany and the Priority of John', *JBL* 107 (1981), pp. 241-56.
Collins, J.N., *Diakonia: Re-interpreting the Ancient Sources* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).
—*Are All Christians Ministers?* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992).
—'Did Luke Intend a Disservice to Women in the Martha and Mary Story?', *BTB* 28 (1998), pp. 104-11.
Constable, G., *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
Conzelmann, H., *The Theology of St. Luke* (trans. G. Buswell; New York: Harper, 1961).
—*Mitte der Zeit: Studien Zur Theologie der Lukas* (BHT, 17; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1964).
—*Acts of the Apostles* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987).
Cook, K.C., 'Sexual Inequality in Aristotle's Theories of Reproduction and Inheritance', in J.K. Ward (ed.), *Feminism and Ancient Philosophy* (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 51-67.
Cooper, K., *The Virgin and the Bride: Idealized Womanhood in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996).
Corley, K.E., 'Were the Women Around Jesus Really Prostitutes?', in *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), pp. 487-521.
—'Jesus' Table Practice: Dining with "Tax Collectors and Sinners" including Women' (SBLSP; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 444-59.
—*Private Women, Public Meals: Social Conflict in the Synoptic Tradition* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1993).
Corrington, G.P., 'Milk of Salvation: Redemption by the Mother in Late Antiquity and Early Christianity', *HTR* 82 (1989), pp. 393-420.
—*Her Image of Salvation: Female Saviors and Formative Christianity* (Gender and Biblical Tradition; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992).
Craddock, F.B., *Luke* (IBC; Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1990).
Creed, J.M., *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (London: Macmillan, 1930, repr.1969; 1972).
Cross, F.L., and E.A. Livingstone (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2nd edn, 1983).
Crossan, J.D., *In Parables: The Challenge of the Historical Jesus* (London: Harper & Row, 1973).
Culpepper, A., 'Seeing the Kingdom of God: The Metaphor of Sight in the Gospel of Luke', *CurTM* 21 (1994), pp. 434-43.

—'Luke', in *The New Interpreter's Bible*, IX (12 vols.; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995), pp. 3-490.

Cunneen, S., *In Search of Mary: The Woman and the Symbol* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1996).

D'Angelo, M.R., 'Women in Luke–Acts: A Redactional View', *JBL* 109 (1990), pp. 441-61.

—'Women Partners in the New Testament', JFSR 6 (1990), pp. 65-86.

—'Reconstructing "Real Women" from Gospel Literature: The Case of Mary Magdalene', in R.S. Kraemer and M.R. D'Angelo (eds.), *Women and Christian Origins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 105-28.

—'Remarriage and the Divorce Sayings Attributed to Jesus', in W.P. Roberts (ed.), *Divorce and Remarriage: Religious and Psychological Perspectives* (Kansas City: Sheed & Ward, 1990), pp. 78-106.

—'(Re)Presentations of Women in the Gospel of Matthew and Luke–Acts', in Kraemer and D'Angelo (eds.), *Women and Christian Origins*, pp. 171-95.

Danker, F.W., *Jesus and the New Age, According to St. Luke: A Commentary on the Third Gospel* (St Louis: Clayton, 1972).

—*Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* (St Louis: Clayton, 1982).

Dareste, B.H.R., and T. Reinach (ed.), *Recueil des inscriptions juridiques grecques*, I (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 1965).

Darr, J., *On Building Character: The Reader and the Rhetoric of Characterization in Luke–Acts* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992).

Daube, D., 'Shame Culture in Luke', in M. Hooker and C.H. Wilson (eds.), *Paul and Paulinism: Essays in Honor of C.K. Barrett* (London: SPCK, 1982), pp. 355-72.

Davies, S., 'Women in the Third Gospel and the New Testament Apocrypha', in Levine (ed.), *'Women Like This'*, pp. 185-97.

Davis, C., *Levinas: An Introduction* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996).

de Boer, E.A., *Mary Magdalene: Beyond the Myth* (trans. J. Bowden; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1997).

—'Discipleship of Equals and Historical "Reality" in Kune Biezeveld (ed.), *Proeven van Vrouwen studies Theologie VI* (6 vols.; Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2000), pp. 99-123.

Deere, C.D., *Household and Class Relations: Peasants and Landlords in Northern Peru* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

Delobel, J., 'L'onction par la pecheresse: La composition litteraire de Lc. VII, 36-50', *ETL* 42 (1966), pp. 415-75.

De Man, P., *Allegories of Reading: Figural Language in Rousseau, Nietzsche, Rilke, and Proust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979).

Derrett, J.D.M., *Law in the New Testament* (London: Darton, Longman, & Todd, 1970).

Deslauriers, M., 'Sex and Essence in Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and *Biology*', in Freeland (ed.), *Feminist Interpretations of Aristotle*, pp. 138-67.

Dibelius, M., *From Tradition to Gospel* (trans. B.L. Woolf; London: Ivor Nicholson & Watson, 1934).

Dillon, R.J., *From Eye-Witnesses to Ministers of the Word: Tradition and Composition in Luke 24* (AnBib, 82; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978).

Dodds, E.R., *Euripides' Bacchae* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2nd edn, 1960).

Douglas, M., *Implicit Meanings* (London: Routlege & Kegan Paul, 1975).
Doyle, J.A., *The Male Experience* (Dubuque, IA: William C. Brown, 2nd edn, 1989).
Drury, J., *Tradition and Design in Luke's Gospel: A Study in Early Christian Historiography* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd; Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1976).
Duff, N., 'Luke 15.11-32 (Between Text and Sermon)', *Int* 49 (1995), pp. 66-69.
Durber, S., 'The Female Reader and the Parables of the Lost', *JSNT* 45 (1992), pp. 59-78.
Easton, B.S., *The Gospel According to Luke* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926).
Eckenstein, L. *Women under Monasticism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1896).
Edwards, C., *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
Egger, B., 'Women and Marriage in the Greek Novels: The Boundaries of Romance', in J. Tatum (ed.), *Search for the Ancient Novel* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), pp. 260-80.
Eisenstadt, S.N., and L. Roniger (eds.), *Patrons, Clients and Friends: Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society* (Themes in the Social Sciences; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
—'Patron–Client Relations as a Model of Structuring Social Change', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (1980), pp. 42-77.
Elliott, J.H., 'Patronage and Clientism in Early Christian Society', *FFF* 3 (1987), pp. 39-48.
Ellis, E.E., *The Gospel of Luke* (NCB; London: Nelson, 1966; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2nd edn, 1974).
Epstein, I., and H. Freedman (eds.), *The Babylonian Talmud: Seder Mo'ed* (London: Soncino Press, 1938).
Ernst, J., *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (RNT; Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Regensburg, 1993).
Esposito, J.L., *Islam: The Straight Path* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
Evans, C.F., *Saint Luke* (TPINT Commentaries; London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity, 1990).
Fatum, L., 'Women, Symbolic Universe and Structures of Silence', *ST* 43 (1989), pp. 61-63.
Fee, G., '"One Thing is Needful"? Luke 10.42', in E.J. Epp and G. Fee (eds.), *New Testament and Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 61-75.
Fetterly, J., *The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978).
Findlay, J.A., *The Gospel According to Luke* (London: Student Christian Movement, 1937).
Fiorenza, E.S., 'The Apostleship of Women in Early Christianity', in L. Swidler and A. Swidler (eds.), *Women Priests: A Catholic Commentary on the Vatican Declaration* (New York: Paulist Press, 1977), pp. 135-40.
—'Word, Power and Spirit: Women in the Early Christian Communities', in Rosemary Radford Ruether and Eleanor Commo McLaughlin (eds.), *Women of Spirit* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979).
—*Bread Not Stone: The Challenge of Feminist Biblical Interpretation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984).

—'A Feminist Critical Interpretation for Liberation: Martha and Mary (Luke 10:38-42)', *Religion and Intellectual Life* 3 (1986), pp. 16-36.
—'Theological Criteria and Historical Reconstruction: Martha and Mary, Luke 10.38-42', in Waetjen (ed.), *Protocol* pp. 1-12.
—'Biblische Grundlegung', in M. Kassel (ed.), *Feministische Theologie: Perspektiven zur Orientierung* (Stuttgart: Kreuz, 1988), pp. 13-44.
—'"Waiting at Table": A Feminist Theological Reflection on Diakonia', in N. Greinacher and N. Mette (eds.), *Diakonia: Church for Others* (Concilium; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988).
—'Lk 13.10-17: Interpretation for Liberation and Transformation', *TD* 36 (1989), pp. 303-19.
—*But She Said: Feminist Practices of Biblical Interpretation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992).
—*Searching the Scriptures: A Feminist Introduction* (New York: Crossroad, 1993).
—'Introduction: Transforming the Legacy of the Women's Bible', in Fiorenza (ed.), *Searching the Scriptures*, I, pp. 1-28.
—*In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1983, 1984, 1986, 1994).
—*Jesus: Miriam's Child, Sophia's Prophet: Critical Issues in Feminist Christology* (New York: Continuum, 1994).
Fitzmyer, J.A., *The Gospel According to Luke I–IX: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB, 28; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981).
—*The Gospel According to Luke X–XXIV: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB, 28A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985).
—*Luke the Theologian* (New York: Paulist Press, 1989).
Flanagan, N.M., 'The Position of Women in the Writings of St. Luke', *Marianum* 40 (1978), pp. 288-304.
Foerster, W., 'δαίμων, δαιμόνιον', *TDNT*, II, pp. 1-20.
Ford, D.W.C., *A Reading of St. Luke's Gospel* (New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1967).
Franklin, E., *Christ the Lord: A Study in the Theology and Purpose of Luke–Acts* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1975).
Freeland, C.A. (ed.), *Feminist Interpretations of Aristotle* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).
Frey, J.B., *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum* (Sussidi allo Studio delle Antichità Cristiane, 1; Rome: Pontifico Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1936).
Freyne, S., *The Twelve: Disciples and Apostles: A Study in the Theology of the First Three Gospels* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1968).
Friedrich, G., 'εὐαγγελίζομαι', *TDNT*, II, pp. 707-37.
Fusco, V., *La donna neila Chiesa e nel mondo* (Naples, 1988).
Gardner, J.E., *Women in Roman Law and Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).
Gaventa, B.R., *Mary: Glimpses of the Mother of Jesus* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995).
Geertz, C., *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).
Geldenhuys, N., *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1960).
Gerhardsson, B., *Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written: Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity* (trans. E.J. Sharpe; ASNU, 22; Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1961).
Ghidelli, C., *Luca* (Rome: Edizioni paoline, 5th edn, 1989).

Giblin, C.H., *The Destruction of Jerusalem According to Luke's Gospel* (AnBib, 107; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1985).
Gill, D., 'Observations on the Lukan Travel Narrative and Some Related Passages', *HTR* 63 (1970), pp. 199-221.
—'Dionysios and Damaris: A Note on Acts 17.34', *CBQ* 61 (1999), pp. 483-90.
Gillman, J., *Possessions and the Life of Faith: A Reading of Luke–Acts* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991).
Gleason, M.W., *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).
—'Elite Male Identity in the Roman Empire', in D.S. Potter and D.J. Mattingly (eds.), *Life, Death and Entertainment in the Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), pp. 67-84.
Goldfeld, A., 'Women as Sources of Torah in the Rabbinic Tradition', in E. Koltun (ed.), *The Jewish Woman* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), pp. 257-71.
Gooding, D., *According to Luke* (Leicester, UK: Inter-Varsity Press, 1987).
Goulder, M.D., *Luke: A New Paradigm* (2 vols.; JSNTSup, 20; Worcester: Billing & Sons, 1989).
Gowler, D.B., 'Characterization in Luke: A Socio-Narratological Approach', *BTB* 19 (1989), pp. 54-62.
Grassi, J.A., *The Hidden Heroes of the Gospels: Female Counterparts of Jesus* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1989).
Grundmann, W., 'Fragen der Komposition des lukanischen "Reiseberichts"', *ZNW* 50 (1959), pp. 252-70.
– *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (THKNT; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1966).
Guillaume, J.M., *Luc interprète des anciennes traditions sur la résurrection de Jésus* (EBib; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1979).
Haenchen, E., *The Acts of the Apostles* (trans. B. Noble and G. Shinn under the supervision of H. Anderson; trans. rev. R. McL. Wilson; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 14th edn, 1971).
Hahn, E., *The Titles of Jesus in Christology: Their History in Early Christianity* (Lutterworth Library; London: Lutterworth Press, 1969.
Hall III, Sidney G., *Christian Anti-Semitism and Paul's Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993).
Hamm, D., 'Sight to the Blind: Vision as Metaphor in Luke', *Bib* 67 (1986), pp. 457-77.
—'What the Samaritan Leper Sees: The Narrative Christology of Luke 17.11-19', *CBQ* 56 (1994), pp. 273-87.
Hands, A.R., *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome* (Aspects of Greek and Roman Life; Thames & Hudson, 1968).
Haug, F., *Commodity Aesthetics, Ideology & Culture* (New York: International General, 1987).
Heffner, B.R., 'Meister Eckhart and a Millenium with Mary and Martha', in M.S. Burrows and P. Rorem (eds.), *Biblical Hermeneutics in Historical Perspective: Studies in Honor of Karlfried Froehlich on His Sixtieth Birthday* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), pp. 117-30.
Heine, S., *Frauender Frühen Christenheit: Zür historischen Kritik einer feministischen Theologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990).
Hengel, M., 'Maria Magdalena und die Frauen als Zeugen', in O. Betz, M. Hengel and P. Schmidt (eds.), *Abraham unser Vater.*

Henry, M., *Matthew Henry's Commentary in One Volume* (ed. L.F. Church; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1961).
Hilton, W., *The Scale (or Ladder) of Perfection* (ed. J.B. Dalgairns; London: Art & Book Co., 1901).
Homiak, M., 'Feminism and Aristotle's Rational Ideal', in J.K. Ward (ed.), *Feminism in Ancient Philosophy* (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 118-37.
Hornsby, T.J., 'The Gendered Sinner' (unpublished PhD thesis, Vanderbilt University, 2000).
Hultgren, A., *The Parables of Jesus: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000).
Ilan, T., *Mine and Yours are Hers: Retrieving Women's History from Rabbinic Literature* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997).
Janssen, C., and R. Lamb, 'Das Evangelium nach Lukas: Die Erniedrigten werden erhölt', in L. Schottroff and M.T. Wacker (eds.), *Kompendium Feministische Bibelauslegung* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1998), pp. 513-27.
Jeremias, J., *The Parables of Jesus* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963).
– *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969).
– *Die Sprache des Lukasevangeliums: Redaktion und Tradition im Nicht-Markusstoff des dritten Evangeliums* (Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980).
Jervell, J., 'The Daughters of Abraham: Women in Acts', in J. Jervell (ed.), *The Unknown Paul: Essays on Luke–Acts and Early Christian History* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), pp. 146-57, 186-90.
Johnson, L.T., *The Literary Function of Possessions in Luke–Acts* (SBLDS, 39; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977).
– *The Gospel of Luke* (Sacra Pagina, 3; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991).
– *The Acts of the Apostles* (Sacra Pagina, 5; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992).
Jones, L., 'The Virtues of Hospitality', *Christian Century* 109 (1992), p. 609.
Juel, D., 'The Strange Silence of the Bible', *Int* 51 (1997), pp. 5-19.
Kahl, B., 'Toward a Materialist Reading', in Fiorenza (ed.), *Searching the Scriptures*, I, pp. 225-40.
– *Armenevangelium und Heidenevangelium: 'Sola scriptura' und die ökumenische Traditionsproblematic im Lichte von Väterkonflikt und Väterkonsens bei Lukas* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1987).
Kam, R.S., *Their Stories, Our Stories: Women of the Bible* (New York: Continuum, 1995).
Karras, R.M., *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
Karris, R.J., 'The Gospel according to Luke', *NJBC*, pp. 675-721.
– *Luke, Artist and Theologian: Luke's Passion Account as Literature* (Theological Inquiries; New York: Paulist Press, 1985).
– 'Luke 24.13-35', *Int* 41 (1987), pp. 57-61.
– 'Women and Discipleship in Luke', *CBQ* 56 (1994), pp. 1-20.
– review of B. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part? Women in the Gospel of Luke* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1996), at website www.sbl-site.org/SBL/Reviews/reviews.html, 1998.
Keck, L.E., and J.L. Martyn (eds.), *Studies in Luke–Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966), pp. 159-85.
Kermode, F., *The Genesis of Secrecy: On the Interpretation of Narrative* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979).

Ketter, P., *Christ and Womankind* (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1952).
Kilgallen, J., 'John the Baptist, the Sinful Woman, and the Pharisee', *JBL* 104 (1985), pp. 675-79.
Kimbrough, M.L., *She is Worthy: Encounters with Biblical Women* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994).
King, U. (ed.), *Women in the World's Religions, Past and Present* (New York: Paragon, 1987).
Kingsbury, J.D., *Jesus Christ in Matthew, Mark, and Luke* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981).
—*Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991).
Klassen, W., '"A Child of Peace" (Luke 10.6) in First Century Context', *NTS* 27 (1980), pp. 488-506.
Klostermann, E., *Das Lukasevangelium* (HNT, 5; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1929).
Koenig, J., *New Testament Hospitality: Partnership with Strangers as Promise and Mission* (OBT, 17; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985).
Koester, H., *Introduction to the New Testament. II. History and Literature of Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980).
—*Ancient Christian Gospels* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990).
Kopas, J., 'Jesus and Women: Luke's Gospel', *TTod* 43 (1986), pp. 192-202.
Kraemer, R.S., *Her Share of the Blessings: Women's Religions among Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greco-Roman World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).
—'Ber(e)nice', in C. Meyers, T. Craven and R.S. Kraemer (eds.), *Women in Scripture: A Dictionary of Named and Unnamed Women in the Hebrew Bible, the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books and the New Testament* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), pp. 59-61.
Kurz, W., 'Luke 3.23-38 and Greco-Roman and Biblical Genealogies', in Talbert (ed.), *Luke–Acts*, pp. 169-87.
Lagrange, M.J., *Evangile selon Saint Luc* (EBib; Paris: J. Gabalda, 8th edn, 1948).
LaHurd, C.S., 'Rediscovering Lost Women in Luke 15', *BTB* 24 (1994), pp. 66-76.
Laland, E., 'Die Martha-Maria Perikope Lukas 10.38-42', *ST* 13 (1959), pp. 70-85.
Laqueur, T., *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).
Laurentin, R., *The Truth of Christmas: Beyond the Myths: The Gospels of the Infancy of Christ* (Petersham, MA: St Bede's, 1986).
Lee, B., and M. Cowan, *Dangerous Memories: House Churches and Our American Story* (Kansas City, MO: Sheed & Ward, 1986).
Lee, D.A., 'Presence or Absence? The Question of Women Disciples at the Last Supper', *Pacifica* 6 (1993), pp. 1-20.
Lefkowitz, M.R., and M.B. Fant, *Women's Life in Greece and Rome: A Source Book in Translation* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2nd edn, 1992).
Leipoldt, J., *Die Frau in der antiken Welt und im Urchristentum* (Leipzig: Kohler & Amelang, 1954).
Legrand, L., *La Virginité dans la Bible* (LD, 39; Paris: Cerf, 1964).
—*Jesus und die Frauen: Bilder aus der Sittengeschichte der alten Welt* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1921).
Lentz, J.C., *Luke's Portrait of Paul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
Lerner, G., *The Creation of Patriarchy* (Women and History, 1; New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

— *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness: From Middle Ages to Eighteen-Seventy* (Women and History, 2; New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).
Leroy, H., 'Vergebung und Gemeinde nach Lukas 7.36-50', in H. Feld and J. Nolte (eds.), *Wort Gottes in der Zeit: Festschrift Karl Hermann Schelkle zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Kollegen, Freunden, Schülern* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1973), pp. 85-94.
Levine, A.-J., 'Ruth', in C. Newsom and S. Ringe (eds.), *The Women's Bible Commentary* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, expanded edn, 1998), pp. 78-84.
Levine, A.-J. (ed.), *'Women Like This': New Perspectives on Jewish Women in the Greco-Roman World* (SBL Early Judaism and Its Literature, 1; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991).
Lindsay, T., *The Gospel of Luke* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1889).
Lohfink, G., *Die Sammlung Israels: Eine Untersuchung zur lukanischen Ecclesiologie* (SANT, 39; Munich: Kösel, 1975).
Lorde, A., *The Black Unicorn: Poems* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978).
Louw, J.P., and E.A. Nida, *Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains* (2 vols.; New York: United Bible Societies, 2nd edn, 1989).
MacDonald, M.Y., *Early Christian Women and Pagan Opinion: The Power of the Hysterical Woman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
Maddox, R., *The Purpose of Luke–Acts* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1982).
Makhlouf, C., *Changing Veils: Women and Modernisation in North Yemen* (London: Croom Helm, 1979).
Malbon, E.S., 'Fallible Followers: Women and Men in the Gospel of Mark', *Semeia* 28 (1983), pp. 29-48.
Malina, B., 'Patron and Client: The Analogy behind Synoptic Theology', *FFF* 4 (1988), pp. 3-33.
Malina, B., and J.H. Neyrey, 'Honor and Shame in Luke–Acts: Pivotal Values of the Mediterranean World', in Neyrey (ed.), *The Social World of Luke–Acts.*
Malina, B. ,and R.L. Rohrbaugh, *Social Science Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992).
Maly, E.H., 'Women and the Gospel of Luke', *BTB* 10 (1980), pp. 99-104.
Manson, T.W., *The Sayings of Jesus* (London: SCM Press, 1954).
Manson, W., *The Gospel of Luke* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1930).
Marshall, I.H., *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC, 3; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978).
Martin, C.J., 'The Acts of the Apostles', in Fiorenza (ed.), *Searching the Scriptures*, II, pp. 762-99.
Martin, R., 'Salvation and Discipleship in Luke's Gospel', *Int* 30 (1976), pp. 366-80.
May, J.D., 'Ministry Reconsidered', *Doctrine and Life* 44 (1994), pp. 150-52.
McGrath, A.M., *What a Modern Catholic Believes About Women* (Chicago: Thomas More, 1972).
McKenzie, J.L., 'Alabaster', in *eadem* (ed.), *Dictionary of the Bible* (New York: MacMillan, 1965), p. 19.
McNamara, J.A., *A New Song: Celibate Women in the First Three Christian Centuries* (New York: Institute for Research in History; Haworth Press, 1983).
Meeks, W., *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983).
Meiselman, M., *Jewish Women in Jewish Law* (Library of Jewish Law and Ethics, 6; New York: Ktav, 1978).

Melzer-Keller, H., *Jesus und die Frauen: Eine Verhältnisbestimmung nach den synoptischen Überlieferungen* (Herders Biblische Studien, 14; Freiburg: Herder Verlag, 1997).
Merklein, H., and K. Müller (eds.), *Die Frau im Urchristentum* (Quaestiones Disputatae, 95; Freiburg: Herder, 1983).
Metzger, B.M., *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).
—*A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament: A Companion Volume to the United Bible Studies Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1971).
Meyers, C., *Discovering Eve: Ancient Israelite Women in Context* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).
Michaelis, W., 'ὁράω', *TDNT*, V, pp. 315-82.
Militello, C. (ed.), *Teologia al Femminile: atti del Colloquio 'Donne: studio ricerca insegnamento della teologia'* (Facoltà teologica di Sicilia; Palermo: Edi Oftes, 1985–90).
Minear, P.S., 'Some Glimpses of Luke's Sacramental Theology', *Worship* 44 (1970), pp. 322-41.
—'Jesus' Audiences, According to Luke', *NovT* 16 (1974), pp. 81-109.
—'A Note on Luke 17.7-10', *JBL* 93 (1974), pp. 82-87.
Moessner, D.P., *Lord of the Banquet: The Literary and Theological Significance of the Lukan Travel Narrative* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989).
Moloney, F.J., *Woman: First among the Faithful* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1985; Notre Dame: Ave Maria, 1986).
Moltmann-Wendel, E., *The Women Around Jesus* (trans. J. Bowden; London: SCM Press, 1982).
Montefiore, C.G., and H.M.J. Loewe, *A Rabbinic Anthology* (London: Macmillan, 1938).
Moore, S.D., *Literary Criticism and the Gospels* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).
—*Mark and Luke in Poststructuralist Perspective: Jesus Begins to Write* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).
—*Poststructuralism and the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Augsburg–Fortress Press, 1994).
Moore, S.D., and J.C. Anderson, 'Taking it Like a Man: Masculinity in 4 Maccabees', *JBL* 117 (1998), pp. 249-73.
Moorman, J.R.H., *The Path to Glory* (London: Seabury, 1960).
Morris, C.L., *The Gospel According to Luke* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975).
Mot, S.C., 'The Power of Giving and Receiving: Reciprocity in Hellenistic Benevolence', in G.E. Hawthorn (ed.), *Current Issues in Biblical and Patristic Interpretation: Studies in Honor of M.C. Tenney* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), pp. 60-72.
Moule, C.E.D., 'The Christology of Acts', in Keck and Martyn (eds.), *Studies in Luke–Acts*, pp. 159-85. .
Moulton, J.H., and G. Milligan (eds.), *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1930).
Moxnes, H., 'Patron–Client Relations and the New Community in Luke–Acts', in J.H. Neyrey (ed.), *The Social World of Luke–Acts*, pp. 241-68.
—'*BTB* Readers Guide: Honor and Shame', *BTB* 23 (1993), pp. 168-76.
Murphy-O'Conner, J., 'Prisca and Aquila, Traveling Tentmakers and Church Builders', *BR* 8 (1992), pp. 40-51.
Nagel, P., *Die Motivierung der Askese in der alten Kirche und der Ursprung des Mönchtums* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 95; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1966).

Neale, D.A., *'None but the Sinners': Religious Categories in the Gospel of Luke* (JSNTSup, 58; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991).
Nellessen, E., *Zeugnis für Jesus und das Wort: Exegetische Untersuchungen zum lukanischen Zeugnisbegriff* (BBB, 43; Cologne: Hanstein, 1976).
Neyrey, J.H., *The Passion According to Luke: A Redaction Study of Luke's Soteriology* (New York: Paulist Press, 1985).
Neyrey, J.H. (ed.), *The Social World of Luke–Acts: Models for Interpretation* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991).
Nolland, J., *The Gospel According to Luke* (WBC, 35A; Dallas: Word Books, 1989).
North, J.L.,'oligon de estin chreia e henos (Luke 10.42): Text, Subtext and Context', *JSNT* 66 (1997), pp. 3-13.
O'Collins, G., and G. Marconi (eds.), *Luke and Acts* (trans. J. O'Connell; Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1992).
O'Day, G.R., 'Acts', in C.A. Newsom and S.H. Ringe (eds.), *The Women's Bible Commentary* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), pp. 305-12.
Oepke, A., 'παῖς', *TDNT*, V, pp. 363-54.
O'Neill, J.C., *The Theology of Acts in its Historical Setting* (London: SPCK, 2nd edn, 1970), pp. 1-58.
Oppenheim, M., *Speaking/Writing of God: Jewish Philosophical Reflections on the Life with Others* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1997).
O'Toole, R.F., *The Unity of Luke's Theology: An Analysis of Luke–Acts* (GNS, 9; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1984).
Osiek, C., 'The Social Sciences and the Second Testament: Problems and Challenges', *BTB* 22 (1992), pp. 88-95.
Page, D.L., *The Plays of Euripides: Medea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955).
Pagels, E., 'Paul and Women: A Response to Recent Discussion', *JAAR* 42 (1974), pp. 538-49.
—*The Gnostic Gospels* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982).
Pallas, D.I., and S. Charitonides, 'Inscriptions Lyciennes trouvées à Solômos près de Corinthe', *Bulletin de correspondence hellénique* 83 (1959), pp. 496-508.
Parsons, M.C., *The Departure of Jesus in Luke–Acts: The Ascension Narratives in Context* (JSNTSup, 21; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987).
Parvey, C.F., 'The Theology and Leadership of Women in the New Testament', in R.R. Ruether (ed.), *Religion and Sexism: Images of Woman in the Jewish and Christian Traditions* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1974), pp. 117-49.
Patte, D., *The Religious Dimensions of Biblical Texts: Greimas' Structural Semiotics and Biblical Exegesis* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990).
Pelikan, J. (ed.), *Luther's Works* (55 vols.; St Louis: Concordia, 1955).
Perkins, P., *Love Commands in the New Testament* (New York: Paulist Press, 1982).
—*Resurrection: New Testament Witness and Contemporary Reflection* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984).
Pervo, R., *Profit with Delight: The Literary Genre of the Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987).
Petersen, S., *'Zerstört die Werke der Weiblichkeit!' Maria Magdalena, Salome, und andere Jüngerinnen Jesu in christlich-gnostischen Schriften* (Nag Hammadi and Manichean Studies, 48; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999).
Petry, R.C. (ed.), *Late Medieval Mysticism* (LCC, 13; London: SCM Press, 1957).
Pitre, B.J., 'Marginal Elites: Matthew 19.12 and the Social and Political Dimension of Becoming Eunuchs for the Kingdom of God' (unpublished).

—'Blessing the Barren and Warning the Fecund: Jesus' Message for Women Concerning Pregnancy and Childbirth', *JSNT* 81 (2001), pp. 59-80.
Plevnik, J., '"The Eleven and Those with Them" according to Luke', *CBQ* 40 (1978), pp. 205-11.
Plummer, A., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke* (ICC, 28; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906; repr; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1922, 1969, 1981).
Pohlenz, M., *Die Stoa: Geschichte einer geistigen Bewegung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1948).
Pomeroy, S.B., *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Schocken, 1975).
—'Greek Marriage', in M. Grant and R. Kitzinger (eds.), *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome* (3 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988), III, pp. 1333-42.
Pope, M., 'Euphemism and Dysphemism in the Bible', *ABD*, I, pp. 720-25.
Porter, S., *The Paul of Acts: Essays in Literary Criticism, Rhetoric and Theology* (WUNT, 115; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999).
Potterie, I. de la, 'Le Titre ΚΥΡΙΟΣ appliqué à Jésus dans L'Evangile de Luc', in A. Descamps and A. de Halleux (eds.), *Mélanges bibliques en hommage au R.P. Béda Rigaux* (Gembloux: Duculot, 1970), pp. 117-46.
Powell, M.A., *What Are They Saying About Luke?* (New York: Paulist Press, 1989).
Price, R.M., *The Widow Traditions in Luke–Acts: A Feminist-Critical Survey* (SBLDS, 155; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997).
Quesnell, Q., 'The Women at Luke's Supper', in R.J. Cassidy and P.J. Scharper (eds.), *Political Issues in Luke–Acts* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1983), pp. 59-79.
Räisänen, H., *Die Mutter Jesu im Neuen Testament* (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, ser. B, 158; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemis, 1969).
—'The Prodigal Gentile and His Jewish Christian Brother, Lk 15.11-32', in F. Van Segbroek *et al.* (eds.), *The Four Gospels 1992* (Festschrift Frans Neirynck; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992), II, pp. 1617-36.
Ramsey, G.W., 'Plots, Gaps, Repetitions, and Ambiguity in Luke 15', *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 17 (1990), pp. 33-42.
Rasco, E., *La teología de Lucas: Origen, Desarrollo, Orientaciones* (AnGr, 20.1; Rome: 1976).
Rebera, R., 'Polarity or Partnership? Retelling the Story of Martha and Mary from Asian Women's Perspective', *Semeia* 79 (1997), pp. 93-107.
Reicke, B., 'Instruction and Discussion in the Travel Narrative', in K. Aland, F.L. Cross, J. Daniélou, H. Riesenfield and W.C. Van Unnick (eds.), *Studia Evangelica: Papers Presented to the International Congress on the The Four Gospels in 1957 at Christ Church, Oxford* (TU, 73; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1959), pp. 206-16.
Reid, B.E., 'Luke: the Gospel for Women?', *CurTM* 21.6 (1994), pp. 405-14.
—*Choosing the Better Part? Women in the Gospel of Luke* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1996).
Reiling, J., and J.L. Swellengrebel, *A Translator's Handbook on the Gospel of Luke* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971).
Reimer, I.R., *Women in the Acts of the Apostles: A Feminist Liberation Perspective* (trans. L.M. Maloney; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1995).
Reinhartz, A., 'From Narrative to History: The Resurrection of Mary and Martha', in Levine (ed.), *'Women Like This'*, pp. 161-84.

Rengstorff, K.H., 'ἁμαρτωλός', *TDNT*, I, pp. 320-33.
—'διδάσκω, διδάσκολος', *TDNT*, II, pp. 135-65.
—'ἑπτά', *TDNT*, II, pp. 627-35.
Resseguie, J.L., 'Interpretation of Luke's Central Section (Luke 9.51–19.44) since 1856', *Studia biblica et theologica* 6 (1975), pp. 3-36.
Rhoads, D., and D. Michie, *Mark as Story: An Introduction to the Narrative of a Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982).
Ricci, C., *Maria di Magdala e le molte altre: Donne sul cammino di Gesù* (Naples: D'Auria, 1991).
—*Mary Magdalene and Many Others: Women Who Followed Jesus* (trans. P. Burns; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994).
Rich, A., 'Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Experience', in B.C. Gelpi and A. Gelpi (eds.), *Adrienne Rich's Poetry and Prose* (Norton Critical Edition; New York: W.W. Norton, 1993), p. 217.
—'The Demon Lover', in B.C. Gelpi and A. Gelpi (eds.), *Adrienne Rich's Poetry and Prose* (Norton Critical Edition; New York: W.W. Norton, 1993), p. 32.
Rigato, M.-L., 'Donne testimoni della Risurrezione', in Spera (ed.), *Uomini e donne nella Chiesa*, pp. 37-53.
—'"Remember... Then They Remembered": Luke 24.6-8', in G. O'Collins and G. Marconi (eds.), *Luke and Acts* (New York: Paulist Press, 1993), pp. 93-102, 232-35.
Ringe, S., *Luke* (Westminster Bible Companion; Louisville, KY; Westminster/John Knox Press, 1995).
Robbins, V.K., 'The Social Location of the Implied Author of Luke–Acts', in Neyrey (ed.), *The Social World of Luke–Acts*, pp. 304-32.
—*Exploring the Texture of Texts: A Guide to Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996).
—*The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse: Rhetoric, Society and Ideology* (New York: Routledge, 1996).
Robert A., Glindinning Carson, *Coins of the Roman Empire* (London: Routledge, 1990).
Robertson, A.T., *A Translation of Luke's Gospel* (Nashville: Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1923).
Robinson, W.C., 'On Preaching the Word of God (Luke 8.4-21)', in Keck and Martyn (eds.), *Studies in Luke–Acts*, pp. 131-38.
Rohrbaugh, R., 'A Dysfunctional Family and Its Neighbors (Luke 15.11b-32)', in G. Shillington (ed.), *Jesus and His Parables* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1997), pp. 141-64.
Rossmiller, C.J., 'Prophets and Disciples in Luke's Infancy Narrative', *Bible Today* 22/6 (1984), pp. 361-65.
Rugh, A., *Family in Contemporary Egypt* (Cairo: The American University of Cairo, 1985).
—*Reveal and Conceal: Dress in Contemporary Egypt* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986).
Ryan, R., '*The Women from Galilee and Discipleship in Luke*', *BTB* 15 (1985), pp. 56-59.
Sabourin, L., *Il Vangelo di Luca* (Casale Monferrato, 1989) (*L'Évangile de Luc: [trans] introduction et commentaire* [Rome: Editrice Pontificia Universita Gregoriana, 1987]).
Said, E., *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World* (New York: Pantheon, 1981).

Said, S., 'The City in the Greek Novel', in J. Tatum (ed.), *The Search for the Ancient Novel* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), pp. 105-106.
Salisbury, J.E., *Church Fathers, Independent Virgins* (London: Verso, 1991).
Saller, R.P., *Personal Patronage under the Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
Sanders, J.T., 'Tradition and Redaction in Luke XV.11-31', *NTS* 15 (1968), pp. 433-38.
—*The Jews in Luke–Acts* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987).
Sawicki, M., *Seeing the Lord: Resurrection and Early Christian Practices* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1994).
Schaberg, J., *The Illegitimacy of Jesus: A Feminist Theological Interpretation of the Infancy Narratives* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987).
—'Luke', in C.A. Newsom and S.H. Ringe (eds.), *The Women's Bible Commentary* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), pp. 275-292, expanded edn (1998), pp. 363-80.
Schierling, S.P., and M.J. Schierling 'The Influence of the Ancient Romances on the *Acts of the Apostles*', *The Classical Bulletin* 54 (1978), pp. 81-88.
Schnackenburg, R., *Die Person Jesu Christi im Spiegel der vier Evangelien* (HTKNT Sup, 4; Freiburg: Herder, 1993).
Schottroff, L., 'Women as Followers of Jesus in New Testament Times: An Exercise in Social-Historical Exegesis of the Bible', in N.K. Gottwald (ed.), *The Bible and Liberation: Political and Social Hermeneutics* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1983), pp. 418-27.
—*Let the Oppressed Go Free: Feminist Perspectives on the New Testament* (trans. A.S. Kidder; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993).
—*Lydia's Impatient Sisters: A Feminist Social History of Early Christianity* (trans. B. Rumscheidt and M. Rumscheidt; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1995).
Schrage, W., 'ἀρχισυνάγωγος' *TDNT*, VII, pp. 844-52.
Schrenk, G., 'βίβλος, βιβλίον', *TDNT* I, pp. 618-20.
—'γράφω, ἐγγράφω', *TDNT*, I, pp. 769-70.
Schürmann, H., *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den synoptischen Evangelien: Beiträge* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1969).
—*Das Lukasevangelium* (HTKNT, 3; Freiburg: Herder, 1969).
Schweizer, E., *The Good News According to Luke* (trans. D.E. Green; Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1984).
Scott, B.B., *Hear Then the Parable* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990).
Scott, J.C., *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).
Seim, T.K., *The Double Message: Patterns of Gender in Luke–Acts* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994).
—'The Gospel of Luke', in Fiorenza (ed.), *Searching the Scriptures*, pp. 728-62.
—'Children of the Resurrection: Angelic Asceticism in Luke–Acts', in L. Vaage and V. Wimbush (eds.), *Asceticism and the New Testament* (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 115-25.
Sheridan, M., 'Disciples and Discipleship in Matthew and Luke', *BTB* 3 (1978), pp. 235-55.
Sim, D.C., 'The Women Followers of Jesus: The Implications of Luke 8.1-3', HeyJ 30 (1989), pp. 51-62.
Slee, N., 'Parables and Women's Experience', *Modern Churchman* 26.2 (1984), pp. 20-31.

Smith, A., 'Full of Spirit and Power', in L.E. Vaage and V.C. Wimbush (eds.), *Ascetism and the New Testament* (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 97-114.
Soards, M.L., *The Passion according to Luke: The Special Material of Luke 22* (JSNTSup, 14; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987).
Söder, R., *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und romanhafte Literatur der Antike* (Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft, 3; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1969).
Soden, H. von, 'ἀδελφός, ἀσθένεια', *TDNT*, I, pp. 144-46.
Spera, S. (ed.), *Uomini e donne nella Chiesa: atti della VII Primavera di Santa Chiara* (Rome: Vivere, 1988).
Spinetoli, O. da, *Luca* (Assisi Cittadella: 2nd edn, 1986).
Stagg, E., and F. Stagg, *Woman in the World of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1978).
Stählin, G., 'θεραπεύω', *TDNT*, I, pp. 490-93.
Sterling, G.E., *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephus, Luke–Acts and Apologetic Historiography* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), pp. 379-86.
Stevens, G. (dir.), *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (Hollywood, CA: MGM Studios, 1965).
Stone, I., *Reading Levinas/Reading Talmud* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1998).
Strachey, J. (ed.), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* (trans. J. Strachey; 24 vols.; London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1961).
Sutter-Rehmann, L., *Geh – Frage die Gebärerin: Feministisch-befreiungstheologische Untersuchungen zum Gebärmotiv in der Apokalypse* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1995).
Sweetland, D.M., *Our Journey with Jesus: Discipleship according to Luke–Acts* (GNS, 23; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1990).
Swidler, L., *Biblical Affirmations of Woman* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1979).
Sykes, P., and J. Kirsh (dirs.), *Jesus* (Warner Brothers, 1979).
Tabor, M.E., *The Saints in Art* (London: Methuen, 1913).
Talbert, C.H., *Reading Luke: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Third Gospel* (New York: Crossroad, 1982).
—(ed.), *Luke–Acts: New Perspectives from the Soicety of Biblical Literature Seminar* (New York: Crossroad, 1984).
—'Discipleship in Luke–Acts', in F.F. Segovia (ed.), *Discipleship in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), pp. 62-75.
Tannehill, R.C., 'The Pronouncement Story and Its Types', *Semeia* 20 (1981), pp. 1-14.
—'Varieties of Synoptic Pronouncement Stories', *Semeia* 20 (1981), pp. 101-19.
—*The Narrative Unity of Luke–Acts* (2 vols.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1986, 1990).
Taylor, V., *Formation of the Gospel Tradition* (London: Macmillan, 1957).
Temporini, H., *Die Frauen am Hofe Trajans: Ein Beitrag zur Stellung der Augustae in Principat* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1978).
Tetlow, E.M., *Women and Ministry in the New Testament: Called to Serve* (New York: Paulist Press, 1980).
Theissen, G., *The First Followers of Jesus: A Sociological Analysis of Earliest Christianity* (London: SCM Press, 1987).
Thibeaux, E.R., '"Known to Be a Sinner": The Narrative Rhetoric of Luke 7:36-50', *BTB* 23.4 (1993), p. 152.
Tiede, D.L., *Luke* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988).
Tinsley, E.J., *The Gospel According to Luke* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1965).

Townsend, J., 'The Date of Luke–Acts', in Talbert (ed.), *Luke–Acts*, pp. 47-62.
Treggiari, S., 'Roman Marriage', in M. Grant and R. Kitzinger (eds.), *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome* (3 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988), III, pp. 1343-54.
Turner, N., *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*. IV. *Style* (ed. J.M. Hope; 4 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1976).
Tyson, J.B. (ed.), *Luke–Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives* (Minneapolis: Augusburg, 1988).
—*Luke, Judaism, and the Scholars: Critical Approaches to Luke–Acts* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999).
Van Unnik, W.C., 'Luke–Acts, a Storm Center in Contemporary Scholarship', in Keck and Martyn (eds.), *Studies in Luke–Acts* pp. 15-32.
Vawter, B., 'The Colossians Hymn and the Principle of Redaction', *CBQ* 33 (1971), pp. 62-81.
Venetz, H.-J., 'Die Suche nach dem "einem Notwendigen"', *Orientierung* 54 (1990), pp. 185-89.
Veyne, P. (ed.), *A History of Private Life*. I. *From Pagan Rome to Byzantium* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1987).
Via, E.J., 'Women, the Discipleship of Service and the Early Christian Ritual Meal in the Gospel of Luke', in U. King (ed.), *Women in the World's Religions, Past and Present* (New York: Paragon, 1987), pp. 38-55.
Waetjen, H. (ed.), *Protocol of the Fifty-Third Colloquy of the Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture, April 10, 1986* (Berkeley: Center for Hermeneutical Studies, 1987).
Walaskay, P.W., *'And So We Came to Rome': The Political Perspective of Luke–Acts* (SNTSMS, 49; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
Wall, R., 'Martha and Mary (Luke 10.38-42) in the Context of a Christian Deuteronomy', *JSNT* 35 (1989), pp. 19-35.
Wanke, J., *Die Emmauserzählung: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Lk 24,13-35* (Erfurter theologische Schriften, 8; Leipzig: St Benno, 1973).
Watson, F., 'Strategies of Recovery and Resistance: Hermeneutical Reflections on Genesis 1–3 and its Pauline Reception', *JSNT* 45 (1992), pp. 79-103.
Weems, R., *Just a Sister Away: A Womanist Vision of Women's Relationships in the Bible* (San Diego, CA: LuraMedia, 1988).
Wegner, J.R., *Chattel or Person? The Status of Women in the Mishnah* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).
Weiser, A., 'διακονέω, διακονία, διάκονος', *EDNT*, I, pp. 302-304.
Wendel, E.M., *The Women Around Jesus* (New York: Crossroad, 1993).
Wenham, D., *Paul: Follower of Jesus or Founder of Christianity?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995).
Williams, J.G., 'The Beautiful and the Barren: Conventions in Biblical Type-Scenes', *JSOT* 17 (1980), pp. 107-19.
Williamson, C.M., and R.J. Allen, *Interpreting Difficult Texts: Anti-Judaism and Christian Preaching* (London: SCM Press, 1989).
Wills, L.M., 'The Depiction of the Jews in Acts', *JBL* 110 (1991), pp. 651-54.
Wilson, S.G., *The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke–Acts* (SNTSMS, 23; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973).
Wimbush, V.L. (ed.), *A Rhetorics of Resistance: A Colloquy on Early Christianity as Rhetorical Formation* (Semeia, 79; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997).

Winterbotham, R., 'Simon and the Sinner', in S. Cox (ed.), *The Expositor* (London: Charles Higham, 1885), pp. 214-29.

Witherington III, B., 'On the Road with Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Susanna, and Other Disciples—Luke 8.1-3', *ZNW* 70 (1979), pp. 243-48.

—*Women in the Ministry of Jesus: A Study of Jesus' Attitude/s to Women and Their Roles as Reflected in His Earthly Life* (SNTSMS, 51; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

—*Women and the Genesis of Christianity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Witt, C., 'Form, Normativity and Gender in Aristotle: A Feminist Perspective', in Freeland (ed.), *Feminist Interpretations of Aristotle*, pp. 118-37.

Wolf, E.R., *Peasants* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice–Hall: 1966).

Zahn, T., *Das Evangelium des Lukas* (Kommentar zum Neuen Testament; Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1913).

Zannoni, A.E. (ed.), *Jews and Christians Speak of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994).

Zedda, S., *Teologia della salvezza nel Vangelo di Luca* (Studi biblici, 18; Bologna: Edizioni dehoniane, 1991).

Zeffirelli, F. (dir.), *Jesus of Nazareth* (ITC/LIVE, 1977).

Zettner, C., *Amt, Gemeinde und kirchliche Einheit in der Apostelgeschichte des Lukas* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, 23/423; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1991).

Zimmerman, B., 'What Has Never Been: an Overview of Lesbian Feminist Criticism', in G. Greene and C. Kahn (eds.), *Making a Difference: Feminist Literary Criticism* (New York: Routledge, 1985), pp. 177-210.

Zimmerman, H., 'Selig, die das Wort hören und es bewahren: Eine exegetische Studie zu Lk 11, 27f.', *Catholica* 29 (1975), pp. 114-19.

# INDEXES

## INDEX OF REFERENCES

### OLD TESTAMENT


*Genesis*
1.1 76
1.26 102
13 204
16 190
16.1-6 96
18.1-15 96
21 190
21.1-21 96
22 257
24.10-49 184
29.4-14 184
29.31–30.24 96

*Exodus*
2.15-22 184
13 60
13.2 60
13.12 60
13.15 60
18.10-27 187
18.21 58
18.22 LXX 226
18.25-26 58
18.25 58

*Leviticus*
5.1 280

*Numbers*
11.11-30 187
11.17 LXX 226
11.24-30 58
27.8 116

*Deuteronomy*
58 217
19.15 278, 280
19.17 280

*Judges*
6.8 LXX 58
6.10 LXX 58
13.2-24 96

*Ruth*
1.9 129
1.14 129
3 129
3.3 129
3.4 129

*1 Samuel*
1 96
2.1-10 80
4.9-10 169

*1 Kings*
9.1-2 LXX 59
10.1-13 LXX 59
13.14 LXX 59
22.6 58

*2 Kings*
2.7 58
2.16 58
2.17 58
4.8-17 96

*1 Chronicles*
24.1-19 77

*Job*
2.10 270

*Psalms*
2.7 272
6.6 116
17.35 LXX 226
18.35 226
19.2 LXX 226
20.2 226
31-6 LXX 63
49.18 LXX 227
68.29 LXX 226
69.29 226
72.26 LXX 227
88.22 226
118.57 LXX 227

*Song of Songs*
4.1 115
6.5 115

*Isaiah*
41.9 226
61.1-2 139

*Jeremiah*
4.34 LXX 55
17.25 LXX 55
19.3 LXX 55
32.32 55
39.32 LXX 55

*Daniel*
3.8 LXX 55
3.12 LXX 55

*Joel*
2.28 102
3 102
3.1-5 102, 138
3.1 102

NEW TESTAMENT

*Matthew*
1.19 101
1.20-25 94
2.13-15 94
2.20 273
2.21 273
4.3 62
4.6 62
5.31-32 49
8.5-6 150
9.21-22 151
10.1-4 242
10.37-40 145
12.40 275
12.41 49
12.46-50 104
12.48-49 145
13.33 252
13.51 269
14.21 48, 279
15.24-30 150
15.30 146
15.31 48
15.38 279
17.9 154
19.12 47
21.31-32 114
23.37-39 273
25.1 97
25.7 97
25.11 97
25.42-44 219
25.44 29, 30
27.38 152
27.44 152
27.46 152
27.50 152
27.55-56 14, 141, 153
27.55 140, 141, 279
27.56-61 136
27.65 29
28.1-9 156
28.1 136, 280
28.9 280
28.19 157

*Mark*
1.1 76
1.12 62
3.12-19 50
3.14 50
3.25 61
3.31-35 104
3.33-35 145
5.28-29 151
6.4 104
6.20 48
6.44 48, 279
7.24-30 150
8.9 279
10.2-12 48
10.11-12 49
10.28-30 145
14.3-9 60
14.50 35
14.50f 142
15.27 152
15.34 152
15.37 152
15.40-47 136
15.40-42 153
15.40-41 14, 46, 50, 141
15.41 29, 140
16 280
16.1-2 153
16.1 136
16.7 156
16.14 156

*Luke*
1 6, 70, 73, 76, 77, 79-85, 87, 94
1.1-23 76
1.1-4 71, 75, 76
1.1-2 53
1.1 77
1.2 53, 279
1.3 5, 46, 75, 76
1.4 46, 53, 74, 75
1.5-25 80
1.5-23 83
1.5-7 8, 101, 150
1.5 77, 87
1.6-7 95
1.7 77, 95
1.8 77
1.11-20 150
1.11 77
1.13-17 78
1.13 81, 95
1.17-20 83
1.17 277
1.18 77, 78, 81
1.20 78, 81
1.21 60, 78
1.22 154
1.23 77
1.24-66 150
1.24-60 151
1.24-57 7, 79, 82, 83, 87, 98
1.24-56 85
1.24 79, 98
1.25 60, 95
1.26-38 150
1.26 79, 87
1.27 49, 94, 97
1.30-33 224
1.32 62
1.34 49, 97
1.35 62, 102
1.36-39 151
1.36-37 98
1.36 79, 98
1.38 80, 102
1.41-45 80
1.42-45 92, 97, 98, 100
1.42 100
1.45 100, 118
1.46-55 93, 150, 224
1.46 80
1.47ff. 80
1.48-55 100

*Luke* (cont.)
1.48 80, 100-102
1.52-53 7, 80
1.52 75
1.54 226, 270
1.55 277
1.56-57 79
1.58-80 80, 82, 83
1.58 81
1.59-66 85
1.59 80, 87
1.61 81
1.63 83
1.66 81
1.67-79 81, 150
1.70 81, 277
1.72 270, 277
1.73 81
1.76 80, 278
1.80 81
2 85, 95
2.1-3 74
2.1-2 84, 87
2.5 84
2.9-12 277
2.9 225
2.17 84
2.18-19 103
2.19 84
2.20 107
2.22-33 94
2.22 84
2.25-35 150
2.27-28 64
2.28 218
2.29-32 84
2.29 102
2.30-31 107
2.32 134
2.34-35 224
2.34 94
2.35 95
2.36-52 150
2.36-39 151
2.36-38 6, 64, 150, 224
2.36 49
2.37 84
2.38 84, 225
2.41-52 103
2.41-51 94, 95
2.41-50 84
2.42 273
2.47 62
2.48 103
2.50 277
2.51 61, 103
3.1-3 74
3.1-2 84, 87
3.1 273
3.4 272, 278
3.15 272
3.16 271, 278
3.17 224
3.18 136
3.19-20 146
3.22 62
3.23-38 61
3.23 61, 62, 94
3.38 61
4 267
4.1-13 62
4.3 62
4.9 62
4.14–9.50 152, 159
4.14 140
4.15 118
4.16-17 61
4.18-22 139
4.18-19 139
4.18 107, 224
4.22 94
4.23 154
4.25-27 150
4.26 134
4.27 278
4.31 118
4.32 118
4.33 148
4.34-41 147
4.38-43 139
4.38-42 139
4.38-39 147, 148, 151, 177
4.39 143, 174, 179, 210, 223-25
4.42-44 133
4.43 136, 140
4.44 140
5.1-11 126, 151
5.3 118
5.4 277
5.7 9, 113
5.8 49, 126, 225
5.9-11 149
5.12 49, 56, 208, 225
5.17-26 111
5.17 118
5.18 49, 51, 56, 208
5.20-21 111
5.20 111
5.21 111, 277
5.26 107
5.30 126
5.32 126
5.35 272, 275
6.1 133
6.3 50
6.5 50
6.6 118
6.7 218
6.8 49, 50, 56
6.10 50
6.12-19 50, 147
6.12-17 140, 142
6.13 50, 280
6.14-29 49
6.14-16 50
6.17 145
6.32-44 49
6.32 126
6.33 126
6.34 126
6.37-42 228
6.37 209
6.41-42 209, 228
6.46 225
7 10, 12, 73, 110, 111, 122, 126, 130, 209
7.5 150
7.11-17 62, 133, 150, 151
7.13 184
7.16 29
7.17–21.21 272
7.20 49, 51, 108
7.21 108
7.22 108
7.23 108

7.24-35 108
7.24 108
7.25 108
7.26 108, 278
7.27 278
7.29-30 108
7.29 108
7.30 108
7.31-32 108
7.33-34 109
7.33 109
7.34 109, 126
7.36-70 9
7.36-50 19, 60, 62, 106, 108, 109, 111, 113-15, 117, 121, 127, 133, 150, 208, 211
7.36-47 111
7.37-38 124
7.37 9, 51, 113, 114, 126
7.38 109, 129
7.39 108, 110, 111, 115, 126, 127
7.40 110
7.41-43 110, 111
7.44-47 209
7.44-46 110, 128
7.44 9, 106, 110
7.45 127
7.47-48 110
7.47 9, 110-13
7.47c 110, 111
7.48-50 111
7.48 110, 111, 184
7.49 9, 29, 111
7.50 111, 117, 118, 184
7.55 50
8.1-3 4, 6, 12-14, 18, 21, 24, 27-30, 32, 33, 36-38, 42, 50, 60, 62, 67, 73, 105, 116, 118, 133, 134, 139, 142-44, 146, 149-52, 155, 158, 177-178, 191, 249
8.1-2 28, 278
8.1 29, 133
8.1a 136
8.1b 136
8.2-3 136, 151, 199
8.2 137
8.3 28-32, 73, 143, 174, 179, 210, 224
8.4-21 104
8.4-15 134, 151
8.8 218
8.9-15 212
8.10 107
8.13 184, 218
8.14 212, 227, 230
8.15 104, 218, 229
8.19-21 103, 226
8.21 93, 103-105, 145, 218, 229, 230
8.27-40 48
8.27 49, 56, 208
8.28 93
8.30 148
8.38 49
8.40-56 118, 148, 150, 151
8.40-41 150
8.41 49, 208
8.43-48 111, 148, 150, 151
8.44 151
8.47 151
8.48 118, 147, 184
8.49-56 150
8.49 277
8.51 149
9–10 226
9.1-6 50, 226
9.1-5 217
9.1-2 142, 149
9.4-5 217
9.5 217, 218
9.9 107
9.10-11 151
9.11 277
9.14-15 143
9.14 48, 279
9.18-22 145, 151, 153, 158
9.18 273
9.20 273
9.21 145
9.22 32, 38, 39, 269, 272, 273, 275-78
9.23 190
9.28 149
9.29 277
9.30-32 49, 278
9.30-31 274, 277
9.30 49, 51, 58
9.31 272, 276
9.32 49
9.35 218
9.36 62
9.38 49, 208
9.42 148
9.44-45 272, 275
9.44 276
9.45 276
9.48 190, 218
9.51–19.44 216
9.51–19.27 152, 159, 250
9.51–12.53 216
9.51 217, 272
9.52-53 218
9.52 217, 278
9.53 217, 272
9.54 217, 278
9.56 217
9.57-62 212
9.57 217
1.26-38 277
10–11 230, 231
10 73, 165, 166, 168,

*Luke* (cont.)
209, 217, 218, 226, 228, 229, 252
10.1-20 217
10.1-16 229
10.1 50, 149, 226, 228
10.2-16 228
10.5-10 217
10.5 217
10.6 217
10.7 217
10.8 174, 217, 218
10.9 217, 226
10.10 217, 218
10.12-15 217
10.16 217
10.17-24 229
10.17 228, 229
10.19 228
10.20 229, 230
10.21-25 218
10.21-22 229
10.23-24 107, 218, 229
10.25-37 216, 226, 229, 236
10.25 216, 218, 229
10.28-32 15
10.29 134, 229
10.30 272
10.31 108
10.32 108
10.33-35 226
10.33 108
10.37 217, 229
10.38-42 4, 6, 19, 21, 23, 26, 27, 59, 62, 67, 133, 138, 143, 145, 150, 151, 161, 163-67, 169-71, 174, 176, 177, 179, 182, 183,
10.38-39 186-89, 191, 192, 194, 195, 198, 211, 214, 215, 217, 230, 232, 234, 236
10.38 184, 219, 226
10.38b 51, 118, 177, 184, 198, 207, 208, 215-17, 272
10.39-40 217
10.39 230
10.39b 118, 198, 206, 209, 210, 215, 218, 227, 235
10.40 237
10.40b 143, 174, 176, 179, 206, 210, 215, 218, 219, 225, 235, 237
10.41-42 223, 225, 226, 238
10.41 179, 207, 215, 227, 230, 241
10.42 206, 212, 226, 227
10.44-48 118, 198, 199, 206, 227, 229
11.1-13 153
11.1 225
11.21-26 118
11.27-28 149
11.27 18, 59, 62, 64, 92, 145, 150, 230
11.28 8, 91, 92
11.29-32 91, 230
11.29 274
11.30 221, 272
11.31-32 272
11.31 150
11.32 49
11.33-36 49
11.37-52 212
11.37 208
12 277
12.11-12 71, 76, 77, 100, 102, 179, 227
12.11 227
12.13-34 227
12.13-15 212
12.13 228
12.21 209
12.22-31 212
12.22 212
12.24 169, 227
12.25 227
12.26 212, 227
12.28 169, 227
12.30-32 227
12.30-31 63
12.30 212
12.33-34 227
12.35-37 212
12.37 143, 141, 143, 174, 223, 224
13.2 126
13.4 272
13.10-17 27, 118, 133, 148, 150, 151
13.10 118
13.11-13 62
13.11 136
13.12 184
13.13 151
13.16 60, 147, 150
13.18-19 150
13.20-21 150, 252
13.22 118, 217, 272
13.26 118
13.29 141
13.31-33 274
13.31 273
13.32-33 39, 272
13.32 276
13.33 217

13.34-35 92, 273
14 208, 265
14.1-25 273
14.1-6 150, 208
14.7-11 208, 209
14.11 209
14.12-14 208
14.15-24 208, 209
14.20 64
14.23 265
14.24 49
14.26-27 265
14.26 64, 145, 207, 218, 262
14.27 272, 275
15 15, 19, 20, 246-52, 254-57, 259, 261, 262, 264-67
15.1-7 250
15.1-2 254
15.1 126
15.2 126, 250, 265, 266
15.3-10 251
15.3-7 150
15.3 254
15.7 126, 256
15.8-10 150, 250, 252
15.8 254
15.9 250, 252
15.10 126, 256, 257
15.11-32 126, 189, 265
15.12 257
15.20-24 248, 257
15.20 258, 259
15.21 259
15.25-32 209, 228
15.25-30 266
15.29-30 264
15.29 264
15.31-32 209
15.31 266
16.1-9 207
16.4 218
16.6 218
16.9 218
16.15 207
16.16 118
16.18 49, 64, 146
16.25 270
17.1 280
17.3-4 210
17.5 224, 280
17.7-10 143, 224
17.8 174, 223, 224
17.11-19 107, 207
17.11 272, 273
17.12 49, 56
17.15-16 107
17.22 275
17.24-25 276
17.24 275, 277
17.25 272, 273, 275, 276
17.32 21
17.33 207
17.34-35 150
18.1-8 42, 150, 151, 227
18.9-14 126, 207, 210, 211
18.13 126, 225
18.17 184, 218
18.18-23 211
18.21 210
18.22 212
18.27 207
18.29 64, 145
18.31-34 38, 272-76, 278
18.31-33 39, 278
18.31 272, 273, 276
18.32 276, 277
18.33-34 32
18.33 276
18.34 276
18.35-43 107
18.35 273
19 23
19.1-10 126
19.1 273
19.2 49, 208
19.6 218
19.7 49, 126
19.9 150
19.11 272
19.28 273
19.37 145
19.41-44 92
19.45 273
19.47 118
20.1 118
20.6 278
20.28-29 218
20.34-36 64, 90
20.37-38 146
20.37 272
20.47 135
21.1-4 151
21.8 6
21.22 276
21.23 8, 92
21.34 225
21.37 118
22 41, 275
22.3 34
22.7-13 143
22.11 34, 35, 275, 280
22.14-38 4, 24, 27, 33, 34, 40-42
22.14 34, 275, 279, 280
22.15-38 272
22.15-37 273
22.15 275
22.15ff 34
22.16 141
22.17 218
22.19-22 224
22.20 117
22.21 275
22.22 275, 276
22.24-30 141
22.24-27 63, 210
22.25-27 182
22.26-30 143
22.26-27 117, 174
22.26 34
22.26b 224
22.27 182, 223
22.27a 223, 224
22.27b 224
22.28-30 63
22.30 34
22.31-32 40

*Luke* (cont.)
22.32 34
22.34 37, 271
22.35-38 36
22.35-36 34
22.37 275, 276
22.39-46 225
22.39 34, 35
22.39ff 34
22.45 34, 35
22.47 34, 117, 277
22.48 275
22.49–24.53 4
22.49-51 36
22.61-62 153
22.61 271
22.61` 37
22.62 117
22.63 49
24.6-7 151
23–24 14
23 92
23.4–24.53 36
23.5 118
23.6-7 273
23.8 107
23.13 277
23.18 277
23.24 277
23.27-32 133
23.27-31 91, 150
23.27-30 8
23.27 151
23.28-31 184
23.31 152
23.32-33 278
23.34 152
23.39-43 152
23.41-42 117
23.42 271
23.43 152
23.46 63, 152
23.47 107
23.49–24.53 24, 27, 41, 42
23.49-56 35, 37
23.49 28, 35, 36, 38, 46, 118, 134, 141, 279
23.50 49, 208
23.54 36
23.55–24.11 135
23.55–24.10 149
23.55-56 153
23.55 36, 38, 138, 141, 153, 279
23.56b 36
24 36, 37, 40-42, 137, 153, 278
24.1-53 36
24.1-13 30
24.1-12 37, 38, 40
24.1-11 150
24.1 36, 141, 153
24.3-8 270
24.4 49, 225, 277
24.5-8 275
24.5 37
24.6-8 20, 21, 32, 37, 38, 145, 272
24.6-7 145, 158
24.6 36-38, 141, 271, 272, 277
24.6c 277
24.6c-8 269, 276, 277
24.7 21, 32, 38, 126, 272, 277
24.8 37, 38, 134, 145, 153, 271
24.9-11 280
24.9-10 151, 279
24.9 38, 40, 155, 157
24.10 37, 38, 46, 136, 141, 149, 155, 156
24.11 38, 51, 156
24.12 38-40, 46, 150, 155
24.13-35 39, 40, 46
24.13 36
24.16 39
24.19-20 156
24.19 39, 49, 58, 59
24.20-21 39, 272, 275
24.20 276
24.21b 36
24.22-24 156
24.22-23 39
24.22 39, 156, 157, 279
24.23 154, 270
24.24 66, 155
24.25-27 156
24.26-27 277
24.26 272, 276
24.27 280
24.29-31 141
24.31 39, 107, 120
24.32 271, 272, 276, 277
24.32d 272
24.33 38-40, 157, 279
24.33c 276
24.34 39, 40, 46, 155, 156
24.36-53 40, 46
24.36-49 41
24.36 279
24.37 36
24.39 107
24.41-43 40
24.41 40
24.44-49 37
24.44-46 276
24.44-45 40, 277
24.44 276, 277
24.45-46 272
24.45 280
24.46 36, 276
24.48 41, 157
24.49 102
24.50-53 41
26.30-31 66
28.31 75

*John*
1.30 58
6.10 48, 279
7.15-16 61

9.16 126
10 250, 256
11–12 15
11 175, 194
11.1-44 170, 236
12 195
12.1-11 170
12.1-7 211
12.1 272
12.4 211
12.6 211
12.7 211
13.3-5 195
20.11-17 156
20.14-17 280
21.20-23 210

*Acts*
12 40
1 41, 222
1.1-11 157
1.1 74
1.4 40
1.5 37, 271, 279
1.8 102, 157
1.10-11 278
1.10 49, 51, 278
1.11 55, 278
1.14 94, 102, 105, 138, 151, 157, 279
1.15 102, 218
1.16 55
1.17 31, 220, 226
1.20-22 149
1.21-22 28, 36
1.21 30, 50
1.25 31, 136, 220, 226
2 15, 42, 102
2.1 157
2.14 54, 55
2.17-18 21, 280
2.17 154, 157
2.18 102
2.22-24 39, 156
2.22 55, 58, 59
2.23-24 55
2.23 59
2.25-31 59
2.29 55
2.37 55
2.42-47 32, 178
2.42 118
2.44-45 143
2.45 168
2.46 168
3.2 56
3.12 55
3.22 278
4.2 118
4.18 118
4.24-30 225
4.29 102
4.32–5.11 143
4.32-37 168
4.32-35 14, 32, 144, 178
5.1-11 68
5.9 49
5.10 49
5.12-16 32, 178
5.12 51
5.14 118
5.21 118
5.23 75
5.25 118
5.28 118
5.32 102
5.35 55
5.42 118
6–8 172
6–7 56
6 50, 168, 176, 191, 222
6.1-7 15, 161, 164, 167, 172, 182, 187, 194
6.1-6 180, 187
6.1-4 143, 226
6.1 180, 220, 221
6.2 145, 174, 224
6.3 149, 221
6.4 220, 221
6.5-6 221
6.5 221
6.8 221
6.10 221
6.13-14 221
7 221
7.1-10 68
7.2 55, 218
7.21 59
7.22 58
7.26 55, 218
7.31 154, 155
8 47
8.9-25 69
8.9 56
8.12 118
8.14 184
8.27 54
9.1-2 213
9.2 223
9.10-16 155
9.10 154
9.12 154, 155
9.13 50
9.15 52, 87
9.17 218
9.23 50
9.32-35 150
9.36-42 150, 177
9.36-39 151
9.36 51, 146
9.39 151
10.3 154, 155
10.5 51
10.9 223
10.17 51, 154, 225
10.19 51, 154
10.21 51
10.22 51
10.30 49
10.31 271
10.38-39 156
10.38 39, 60
10.41 36, 40
11–12 221
11.1 184
11.5 154
11.11-12 51
11.11 225
11.16-18 153
11.16 37, 271
11.24 50
11.26 118, 221
11.27-28 118

*Acts* (cont.)
11.29 31, 218, 222, 226
11.30 149, 221
12 6, 67
12.2 218
12.7 225
12.9 154
12.12 51, 118, 177, 191, 222, 225
12.13-15 151
12.25 31, 221, 222, 226
12.41-48 223
13.6-12 69
13.6 56
13.10 56
13.11 51
13.12 118
13.15 55
13.16 55
13.21-22 59
13.21 59
13.23-24 59
13.23 59
13.24 274, 278
13.26 55
13.31 36, 157, 279
13.33 272
13.38 55
14.5 74
14.15 56
15.3 218
15.7 55
15.13 55
15.22 149
15.25-27 51
15.35 118
15.39 149
15.40 149
16 6, 67, 85
16.1 118, 224
16.2 218
16.3 149
16.9-10 155
16.9 49, 154, 155
16.10 154
16.11-40 236
16.13-15 85
16.14-15 51, 85
16.14 116
16.15-40 177
16.15 118, 222, 225
16.17 102
16.20-21 47, 68
16.23 75
16.25-39 74
16.33-34 51
16.38 57
16.40 85, 118, 218
17 54
17.4 67, 223
17.5-9 74
17.11 184
17.12 51, 67, 118, 223
17.14 224
17.19 118
17.22 54
17.31 58, 59
17.32-33 59
17.34 54, 63, 118
18 6, 67
18.2-4 222
18.2 149, 189, 190
18.3 116
18.5 149, 224
18.9 154, 155
18.11 118
18.12-17 74
18.18 189, 190, 222, 225
18.23-25 50
18.24 190
18.25 118
18.26 118, 149, 151, 189, 190, 222, 225
19.11-20 69
19.22 31, 224
19.23-41 74
19.33 57
19.35 54
20.4 224
20.17-39 226
20.17-38 222
20.18-32 57
20.19-21 222
20.19 222
20.20 118
20.22 222
20.23 222
20.24 31, 221, 222
20.27 222
20.28 222
20.29-31 222
20.31 222
2123 48
21.7 218
21.8 64
21.9 97, 151, 225
21.18-26 221
21.18-19 226
21.19 31, 221, 222
21.21 118
21.28 55, 118
21.34 53, 75
21.37-39 57
21.40 57
22.1 55
22.2 57
22.3 178
22.13 225
22.22-29 74
22.25-29 57
22.25-26 223
22.30 53, 75
23.1 55
23.6 55
23.11 225
23.16 218
23.26-30 74
23.26 53, 75, 84
24.3 53, 75, 84
24.10-23 74
24.10 57, 58
24.11 118
24.14 56
24.16 57
24.24 57
24.25 58
24.26 58
25.11 86
25.23 54
25.26 53, 75
26.2-3 57

26.2 54
26.19 54, 154, 155
26.24-32 74
26.25 53, 75, 84
26.26 46
26.29 57
26.30 54
26.32 57
27.10 56
27.21 56
27.24 52, 56
27.32 86
28 267
28.17 55
28.31 118

*Romans*
1.3-4 101
1.4 101
8.26 226
16.1-2 184, 219, 220
16.3-5 191
16.3 184
16.6 184
16.12 184

*1 Corinthians*
7 91, 165, 195
7.32-35 15, 165
7.32-34 165, 183
7.34 183
7.35 210
9.5 149
10.21 15, 168
14.34-35 166
15.5 280
16.19 191

*2 Corinthians*
8.1-6 219
12.1 154

*Galatians*
3.28 20, 102, 192
4 15
4.21-31 98, 189

*Ephesians*
4.13 58

*Philippians*
4.2-3 149, 184
4.2 193

*Colossians*
1.15-20 26

*1 Thessalonians*
5.3 75

*1 Timothy*
2.15 91
3.11 184
5.3-16 187

*2 Timothy*
3.6-7 190
4.19 190

*Philemon*
13 31

*1 Peter*
3.7 192

*Revelation*
9.17 154
43 154

## Other Ancient References

Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
*1 Esdras*
3–4 56

*4 Maccabees*
8.19 LXX 55

*Joseph and Asenath*
15.7 30

Mishnah and Tosefta
*Ab.*
1.4 178
1.5 114

*t. Ber.*
4.8 114

*t. Sot.*
5.9 115

*Ber.*
10b 135

*Ket.*
2.1 115

*Ta'an.*
20b 114

Talmuds
*b. B. Qam.*
119a 135

*b. Ber.*
4.2b 178

*b. Šab.*
62a 135

*j. Giṭ.*
9.50d 115

*j. Hor.*
48a.1.44 135

Midrash
*Esther R.*
2.3 135

*Gen R.*
98 92
*Sifre Num.*
131 236

Philo
*Abr.*
5253 99

*Congr.*
67 99

*Poster. C.*
134 99

*Praem. Poen.*
158-159 99

*Quaest. in Gen.*
2.49 148
4.15-148 148
4.15 147

*Somn.*
1.168 99

Josephus
*Ant.*
4.8.15:§219 42
9 135

*War*
7.323 55
7.341 55

Christian Authors
*Apoc. Jas.*
38.22-23 148

*Epist. Ap.*
2022 156

*Gos.Thom.*
114 148
79 64, 91

Classical
Aristotle
*Shepherd of Hermas*
4.1-8 126

Justin
*Dialogue with Trypho*
87.6–88.1 102

Livy
*History of Rome*
2.1.10-11 55

Origen
*Contra Celsum*
3.55 85

*Matthaus*
12.4.10-14 122

*Song of Song*
26 124

Plato
*Apology*
17a 54
17b 54
8a 54
18e 54
21e 54
22a 54
24a 54
24c 54
26a 54

Pliny
*Letters*
10.1.2 53

*Pan.*
2.7 53
8485 66
84.2 62
88.4 53

Plutarch
*Alexander*
2 61
5 60

Suetonius
*D.Augustus*
8 61

Tatius
*Leukippe and Kleitophon*
7.9 54

## Index of Authors


Abbott-Smith, G. 137
Aland, K. 155, 270
Alexander, L. 16, 17, 197, 215, 228
Alexander, P.S. 205
Allen, R.J. 267
Allison, D.C. 99
Alter, R. 32, 33
Anderson, J.C. 26, 35, 56
Arndt, W.F. 133, 137, 138, 185, 218, 225, 261, 264
Ash, A.L. 123
Atwood, R. 116
Ayrout, H.H. 254

Bailey, J.A. 122
Bailey, K.E. 19, 110, 117, 121, 123, 247, 252, 257-62, 264, 267
Baker, A. 227
Balch, D.L. 219
Balsdon, J.P.V.D. 219
Barclay, J. 195
Barnes, T.J. 234
Baron, S.W. 135
Barr, D.L. 47
Barton, C.A. 62
Batten, A. 262, 263
Bauer, W. 137, 185, 218, 225, 261, 264
Bemile, P. 92, 93
Bengel, I.A. 274
Benn, M. 202
Bennett, J. 53, 65
Beyer, H.W. 136, 137, 168, 172, 191, 219
Billerbeck, P. 122, 128, 135
Black, M. 113
Blank, J. 123, 269
Blomberg, C.L. 216
Boatwright, M.T. 67
Bock, D.L. 153
Bode, E.L. 36, 38
Boer, E.A. de 13, 14, 17, 140-42, 147
Boismard, M. 157-59
Bovon, F. 147, 257, 258, 265
Bowie, W.R. 122
Brawley, R.L. 47, 228, 250
Brennan, I. 166
Brenner, A. 96
Brock, S.P. 124
Brooten, B. 116, 126, 130
Brown, C.A. 42
Brown, P. 64
Brown, R.E. 78, 89, 96, 98, 101, 103, 104
Brutscheck, J. 165, 170, 172, 216
Bultmann, R. 170, 227

Cadbury, H.J. 49
Caird, C.B. 123, 138, 216
Callaway, M. 98-101
Calvin, J. 124, 202-207
Cantarella, E. 219
Carcopino, J. 219
Carlston, C.E. 265
Carmignac, J. 97
Carroll, J.T. 108
Carson, R.A.G. 65
Carter, W. 17, 18, 214
Cassidy, R.J. 166
Chance, J.B. 187
Chrysostom, J. 193, 230
Clines, D.J.A. 130, 204
Co, M.A. 32, 33
Coakley, J.F. 115, 116
Collins, J.N. 30, 31, 33, 141, 142, 144, 172, 178, 182, 191-95, 219-23
Constable, G. 196
Conzelmann, H. 93, 133, 134, 137, 220
Cook, K.C. 125
Cooper, K. 44, 46, 52
Corley, K.E. 35, 113, 114, 117, 124, 126, 127, 237-39, 254, 256
Corrington, G.P. 90, 167

Cowan, M. 233
Craddock, F.B. 216, 224, 230, 267
Creed, J.M. 133, 136, 141, 165
Crossan, J.D. 256
Culpepper, A. 106, 124
Cunneen, S. 89

D'Angelo, M.R. 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 14, 18, 25, 26, 31, 44-51, 57, 60, 64, 66, 67, 69, 93, 94, 105, 118, 186, 214, 215, 218, 231, 240-43, 249
Danker, F.W. 133, 137, 166, 185, 216, 218, 223-25, 229, 261, 264
Darr, J. 265, 266
Daube, D. 98, 100
Dautzenberg, G. 269
Davies, S. 15, 25, 94, 163, 176, 188
Deere, C.D. 254
Delobel, J. 123
Derrett, J.D.M. 113, 123
Deslauriers, M. 125
Dibelius, M. 170
Dillon, R.J. 36-38, 40, 153
Donahue, J.R. 23
Donfried, K.P. 89, 103
Douglas, M. 240
Doyle, J.A. 130
Drury, J. 97
Duff, N. 265
Duncan, J.S. 234
Durber, S. 204, 252, 254-57, 263

Easton, B.S. 122
Eckhart, M. 185, 203, 204, 206, 210
Edwards, C. 53, 57
Egger, B. 52
Eisenstadt, S.N. 223
Elliott, J.H. 223
Ellis, E.E. 123, 134, 137, 216, 217
Epstein, I. 135
Ernst, J. 142, 147
Esposito, J.L. 253
Evans, C.F. 40, 142

Fant, M.B. 219
Fatum, L. 71
Fee, G.D. 227
Findlay, J.A. 122
Fitzmyer, J.A. 23, 34, 40, 89, 91-93, 103, 104, 111, 113, 123, 140, 144, 146, 152, 199, 216, 225, 227-29, 236, 257, 269
Flanagan, N.M. 24
Foerster, W. 136
Ford, D.W.C. 123
Franklin, E. 225
Freedman, H. 135
Freud, S. 72, 76
Frey, J.B. 135
Freyne, S. 34
Friedrich, G. 136
Fusco, V. 269

Gardner, J.E. 116, 219
Gaventa, B.R. 89, 93, 97, 103
Geertz, C. 233, 234
Geldenhuys, N. 122
Gerhardsson, B. 161, 178, 214
Ghidelli, C. 270, 278
Giblin, C.H. 91
Gill, D. 54, 216, 217
Gillman, J. 31
Gingrich, W. 137, 185, 218, 225, 261, 264
Gleason, M.W. 52
Goldfeld, A. 179
Gooding, D. 209
Goulder, M.D. 153, 165
Gowler, D.B. 259
Grassi, J.A. 24
Grundmann, W. 216, 225
Guillaume, J.-M. 36, 38

Haenchen, E. 221, 224
Hahn, E. 225
Hall III, S.G. 267
Hamm, D. 107
Hands, A.R. 223
Harvey, S.A. 124
Haug, W.F. 86
Heffner, B.R. 203, 230
Heine, S. 144
Hengel, M. 134
Hilton, W. 203
Homiak, M. 125
Hornsby, T.J. 9-11, 14, 121, 125
Hultgren, A. 254, 257, 258, 264, 266

Ilan, T. 150

Janssen, C. 73
Jeremias, J. 122, 128, 176
Jervell, J. 25, 34
Johnson, L.T. 37, 187, 224
Jones, L. 214
Juel, D. 264, 265

Kahl, B. 6, 7, 10, 71, 88, 94-96, 98
Kam, R.S. 174
Karras, R.M. 124
Karris, R.J. 3, 4, 13, 14, 23, 32, 33, 38, 39, 141, 144, 153, 156, 157, 162, 178, 191, 192, 196, 214, 217, 224
Ketter, P. 199, 200
Kilgallen, J. 123
Kimbrough, M.L. 174
Kingsbury, J.D. 34, 225
Kirsh, J. 128
Klassen, W. 217
Klostermann, E. 216
Koenig, J. 114, 217
Koester, H. 47
Kopas, J. 24, 214, 228
Koperski, V. 15, 16, 161
Kraemer, R.S. 26, 52, 66
Kurz, W. 61

LaHurd, C.S. 19-21, 246, 248
Lagrange, M.J. 216
Laland, E. 161, 186, 217
Lamb, R. 73
Lamouille, A. 157-59
Laqueur, T. 126
Laurentin, R. 101
Lee, B. 233
Lee, D.A. 33
Lefkowitz, M.R. 219
Legrand, L. 100, 101
Leipoldt, J. 177, 219
Lentz, J.C. 57, 58
Lerner, G. 219
Leroy, H. 123
Levine, A.J. 1, 129, 173, 188, 251
Lindsay, T. 122
Loewe, H. 135
Lohfink, G. 34
Lorde, A. 106
Louw, J.P. 220, 221
Luther, M. 127

MacDonald, M.Y. 52
Maddox, R. 101
Makhlouf, C. 253
Malbon, E.S. 35
Malina, B. 219, 222, 223, 251, 254, 259-63, 265
Maly, E.H. 24, 25, 45
Man, P. de 130
Manson, T.W. 165
Manson, W. 133, 259, 261
Marshall, I.H. 116, 123, 216, 217, 224, 225, 227, 229, 230, 236, 241
Martin, C.J. 45, 249
Martin, R. 34
May, J.D. 191, 193
McGrath, A.M. 166
McKenzie, J.L. 116
McNamara, J.A. 165
Meeks, W. 25
Meiselman, M. 42, 116
Melzer-Keller, H. 144, 146, 147, 151, 157
Merklein, H. 269
Metzger, B.M. 29, 137, 159
Meyers, C. 252, 254, 262
Michaelis, W. 154
Michie, D. 35
Militello, C. 269
Milligan, G. 138
Minear, P.S. 34, 40, 224
Moessner, D.R. 216, 217, 228, 264
Moloney, F.J. 24, 103
Moltmann-Wendel, E. 25, 113, 185, 199, 200
Montefiore, C.G. 135
Moore, S.D. 26, 37, 56, 71, 107
Moorman, J.R.H. 122
Morris, C.L. 123
Mot, S.C. 223
Moule, C.E.D. 225
Moulton, J.H. 138
Moxnes, H. 51, 223, 224, 231, 259
Müller, K. 269
Murphy-O'Connor, J. 190

Nagel, P. 91
Neale, D.A. 211
Nestle, E. 155, 270
Neusner, J. 115
Neyrey, J.H. 35, 91, 92, 161, 240, 251, 259-61
Nida, E.A. 220, 221
Nolland, J. 170
North, J.L. 199

O'Day, G.R. 25
O'Neill, J.C. 47
O'Toole, R.F. 34
Oepke, A. 261
Osiek, C. 255

Page, D.L. 129

Pagels, E. 201, 204
Parsons, M.C. 41
Parvey, C.F. 24, 25, 45, 166
Patte, D. 82
Perkins, P. 36, 38, 153, 157, 261
Pervo, R.I. 46
Petersen, S. 147
Petry, R.C. 203
Pitre, B.J. 47, 64
Plevnik, J. 38
Plummer, A. 113, 115, 134, 137, 162, 216
Pohlenz, M. 148
Pomeroy, S.B. 114, 219
Pope, M. 129
Porter, S. 54, 57
Potterie, I. de la 225
Powell, M.A. 24
Price, R.M. 15, 162, 164-67, 186-88, 192, 193

Quesnell, Q. 33-35, 45

Räisänen, H. 89, 101-103, 264, 265
Ramsey, G.W. 261
Rasco, E. 274, 278
Rebera, R. 174
Reicke, B. 161, 214, 228
Reid, B.E. 9, 10, 13, 15, 45, 63, 96, 101, 106, 118, 144, 147, 151, 164, 166, 177, 182-86, 188, 190-94, 196, 239, 241, 244, 251, 254, 256
Reiling, J. 123, 136, 137
Reimer, I.R. 45, 51, 85
Reinhartz, A. 15, 174-76, 184, 188-92
Rengstorf, H. 123, 136, 137, 149
Resseguie, J.L. 216
Rhoads, D. 35
Ricci, C. 28-30, 33, 36, 43, 141, 146, 149, 178
Rich, A. 242, 243
Rigato, M.-L. 20, 21, 37, 38, 269, 270, 280
Ringe, S. 121, 123
Robbins, V.K. 53, 57, 61, 232, 234
Robertson, A.T. 122
Robinson, W.C. 104
Rohrbaugh, R.L. 219, 248, 254, 259-63, 265
Roniger, L. 223
Rossmiller, C.J. 45
Rouiller, G. 257, 258, 265
Rugh, A. 253, 256, 257
Ryan, R. 24, 33, 45, 157, 214

Sabourin, L. 269
Said, E. 255
Said, S. 54
Salisbury, J.E. 167
Sanders, J.T. 250, 266
Sawicki, M. 173
Schaberg, J. 25, 28, 36, 73, 74, 99, 118, 121, 151, 214, 219, 249, 254
Schierling, M.J. 46
Schierling, S.P. 46
Schnackenburg, R. 23
Schottroff, L. 23, 31, 79, 80, 82, 84, 115, 124, 126, 178, 191, 236
Schrage, W. 135
Schrenk, G. 229
Schürmann, H. 93, 140, 146
Schüssler Fiorenza, E. 15, 23, 25-28, 30, 45, 67, 71, 118, 120, 157, 162-64, 167-77, 179-82, 187-96, 215, 220-23, 225, 228, 235-37, 239, 241, 249, 262, 268
Schweizer, E. 113, 216, 227, 229, 258, 264
Scott, B.B. 257, 259-61, 263, 266
Scott, J.C. 73
Scroggs, R. 166
Seim, T.K. 7, 8, 15, 45, 63, 64, 73, 74, 89, 90, 97, 102, 105, 118, 140, 144, 146, 147, 150, 151, 153, 156, 158, 165, 176-83, 188, 190-93, 195, 249, 254
Sheridan, M. 34
Sim, D.C. 28, 143, 146, 166
Slee, N. 252, 263
Smith, A. 56
Soards, M.L. 33, 91
Soden, H. von 218
Söder, R. 46
Spera, S. 269
Spinetoli, O. da 269
Stagg, E. 216
Stagg, F. 216
Stählin, G. 136
Sterling, G.E. 47
Stevens, G. 128
Strack, H.L. 122, 128, 135
Sutter-Rehmann, L. 84
Sweetland, D.M. 33, 34
Swellengrebel, J.L. 123, 136
Swidler, L. 162, 249
Sykes, P. 128

Tabor, M.E. 197, 213
Talbert, C.H. 34, 216, 230, 236, 241

Tannehill, R.C. 24, 28, 36, 170, 216, 218, 224
Taylor, V. 170
Tetlow, E.M. 23, 25, 45, 93, 105, 166, 167, 215
Thackeray, H. St J. 55, 56
Theissen, G. 171, 199, 201
Thibeaux, E.R. 109
Thimmes, P. 18, 19, 232
Tiede, D.L. 264
Tinsley, E.J. 123
Townsend, J. 47
Treggiari, S. 219
Turner, N. 139
Tyson, J.B. 250, 265

Van Unnik, W.C. 23
Vawter, B. 26
Venetz, H.-J. 172
Verheyden, J. 161
Via, E.J. 24, 33, 45, 249, 256

Walaskey, P.W. 46, 63
Wall, R. 217
Wanke, J. 39
Watson, F. 204, 205
Weems, R.J. 214
Wegner, J.R. 41, 42
Weiser, A. 220
Wenham, D. 165, 166
Wentling, J. 47
Whitney, W.V. 166
Williams, J.G. 96, 98
Williamson, C.M. 267
Wills, L.M. 47
Wilson, S.G. 138
Wimbush, V.L. 73
Winterbotham, R. 128
Witherington III, B. 12, 13, 28, 104, 113, 116, 123, 133, 142, 174, 175, 214, 218, 227
Witt, C. 125
Wolf, E.R. 254

Zahn, T. 144, 146
Zannoni, A.E. 267
Zedda, S. 23, 33
Zeffirelli, F. 128
Zettner, C. 33
Zimmermann, B. 242
Zimmermann, H. 92, 93

BS2595.52 .F450 2002

Levine, Amy-Jill, 1956-
A feminist companion to Luke /
edited by Amy-Jill Levine with

39967000232905

A Feminist Companion to

# Luke

The third volume in this series deals with Lukan themes in feminist perspectives. The fourteen essays from an international authorship cover a range of issues, including Imperial Masculinity, Mary and Asceticism, Martha in the Kitchen and Reading Luke 15 with Arab Christian Women.

The contributors include Robert Karris, Mary Rose D'Angelo, Brigitte Kahl, Turid Karlsen Seim, Barbara Reid, Teresa Hornsby, Ben Witherington III, Esther DeBoer, Veronica Koperski, Loveday Alexander, Warren Carter, Pamela Thimmes, Carol Schersten Lahurd and Maria-Luisa Rigato. The volume also includes an introduction by the editor and a bibliography.

*Amy-Jill Levine is the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Professor of New Testament Studies, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee.*

Feminist Companion to the New Testament and Early Christian Writings, 3

SHEFFIELD ACADEMIC PRESS
*A Continuum imprint*
www.continuumbooks.com

ISBN 1-84127-324-4
9 781841 273242 >